LOCATING MALANGATANA: DECOLONISATION, AESTHETICS AND THE ROLES OF AN ARTIST IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

Mário de Andrade Pissarra
DNDMAR001

Thesis Presented for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department of Sociology

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

February 2019

Supervisor: Prof Ari Sitas, Sociology, UCT.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people provided support to make it possible for this study. I am grateful to my supervisor Prof Ari Sitas for his encouragement, advise and patience; as well as to Prof Carolyn Hamilton and the Archives and Public Culture Research Initiative for an enabling space to test out some of my initial research.

I am especially grateful to Dr Alda Costa (Universidade Eduardo Mondlane) who generously facilitated access to information and people and, together with her husband Prof Armando Lopes and their son Nuno, provided me with a homely base in Maputo during my two brief research visits. Thanks too, to Prof Yusuf Adam for hosting a presentation of my proposed research to UEM students, co-organised with FLCS and Dr. Costa. I am grateful to Julietta Massimbe, then director of the National Museum of Art of Mozambique, for facilitating my access to Musart's archives and collection, and to Musart's Afonso Malasa and Nelson Mondlane for assisting this process. Eng. António Quelhas and the Friends of Malangatana were instrumental in organising for me to visit the Matalana Cultural Centre, in arranging some meetings on my behalf, and assisted this process immensely by seconding Carla Barraias to assist with translation. Thanks to Malangatana's close associates Champolino Ngwenya, Dillon Djindji, Evaristo Magaia, Lindo Hlongo, Mankeu, Luís Bernardo Honwana and Benites Lucas José for making time for me to engage with them on questions of interpretation of Malangatana. I was fortunate to meet with Mutxhini Malangatana, the artist's son, and to compare notes with António Sopa, then working for the National Archive of Mozambique (AHM). I also benefitted from conversations

with José Teixeira (Anthropology, UEM), and the artists, educators and all-round arts activists Gemuce and Jorge Dias. Beyond Mozambique, I was fortunate to pay short research visits to Washington DC, New York, and London. I am especially grateful to Janet Stanley (Warren Robbins Library, National Museum of African Art), who facilitated my access to the unparalleled archives at NMAFA, helped me navigate the dispersal of the Harmon Foundation archives at the National Archives, and generously accommodated me on both visits to DC. My gratitude to Eshara Singh (Bessie Head Library) for her assistance in sourcing South African references. I further wish to thank Alexandre Pomar for his willingness to share and exchange information, and for responding to draft chapters, something for which I am also thankful to Alda Costa, Yusuf Adam, and Harun Harun. Zoe Storrar-Molteno, who cast a critical eye on my use of language deserves special mention; and I am grateful to Dolphina Cogill and Alexandra Daniels for assistance with graphs.

Although circumstances led me to adapt this study from its initial conception as a comparative case study, I would be remiss to not thank all those who assisted my work on Sam Ntiro. In particular, I benefitted from several exchanges with Elsbeth Court (SOAS). Prof Elias Jengo (University of Dar es Salaam), Andrew Baines (formerly of the Commonwealth Institute), Tim Fletcher (National Lutheran Council), and Judith Hecker (Museum of Modern Art, New York) were all helpful at various points of this study.

Many friends and colleagues helped in various ways, from loaning and accessing material on my behalf and assisting with technical aspects to keen discussions on aspects of

my research and accommodating me – my thanks to Gavin Jantjes, Omar Badsha, Stacey Stent, Dr Nomusa Makhubu, Prof Lize van Robbroeck, Fiona Mauchan, Justin Davy, Hayden Proud, Rae Cheddie, and Anthony Chase for helping me on my way. My deepest gratitude goes to my close ones, Alex and Tariro, it has been a longer journey than intended and their understanding and support has made this thesis possible.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge financial support from the National Research Foundation (2011, 2012, 2013, 2015), and University of Cape Town (2011, 2012). My gratitude to the British Council for covering my travel costs to London.

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where it states otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

Signed by candidate

11 February 2019

ABSTRACT

This thesis responds to the dearth of detailed studies of pioneering African modernists; and the need for fresh theoretical frameworks for the interpretation of their art. Building on recent scholarship that applies decolonisation as an epistemic framework, it argues that a productive decolonial discourse needs to consider concurrent forms of nationalism and cultural agency in both the anti/colonial and postcolonial periods. Central to this approach is an analysis of the aesthetic responses of artists to the experiences and legacies of colonialism.

This thesis is grounded in a study of Malangatana Valente Ngwenya (1936-2011), Mozambique's most celebrated artist. It draws substantially on archival material and rare publications, mostly in Portuguese. The artist's career is located within changing social and political contexts, specifically the anti/colonial period, and the promise and collapse of the postcolonial revolutionary project, with the pervasive influence of the Cold War highlighted. Following the advent of globalisation, the artist's role in normalising postcolonial relations with Portugal is foregrounded. Parallel to his contribution to Mozambican art and society, Malangatana features prominently in surveys of modern African art. The notion of the artist fulfilling divergent social roles at different points in time for evolving publics is linked to an analysis of his emergence as a composite cultural sign: autodidact; revolutionary; cultural 'ambassador'; and global citizen.

The artist's decolonial aesthetics are positioned in relation to those of his pan-African peers, with four

themes elaborated: colonial assimilation; anti-colonial resistance; postcolonial dystopia; and the articulation of a new Mozambican identity. Key to this analysis is an elaboration of the concept of the polemic sign, initially proposed by Jean Duvignaud (1967), adapted here to interpret the artist's predilection for composite visual signs that, in their ambivalence and often provocative significations, resist processes of definitive translation. It is argued that through a juxtaposition of disparate forms of signs, and the simultaneous deployment of semi-realist and narrative pictorial strategies, the artist develops a complex, eclectic and evocative aesthetic that requires critical and open-ended engagement. The thesis concludes with provocative questions regarding the extent to which the artist's aesthetics reflect hegemonic national narratives, or act to unsettle these.

Keywords: Malangatana, Mozambique, decolonisation, decolonial aesthetics, modern African art, contemporary African art, polemic signs

"… this birth of a new world in our country is difficult and bloody." Malangatana Valente Ngwenya, 1989.[1]

[1] The artist quoted in Anon. "Malangatana Ngwenya: Yesterday, today and tomorrow". Maputo: *Indico,* n.3, 1989, p.28.

LOCATING MALANGATANA: DECOLONISATION, AESTHETICS AND THE ROLES OF AN ARTIST IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

ACRONYMS

BCI	Banco Comercial e de Investimentos (Mozambique)
CGD	Caixa Geral de Depositos (Portugal)
EPM-CELP	Escola Portuguesa de Moçambique – Centro de Ensino e Língua Portuguesa (The Portuguese School of Mozambique – Centre of Design and the Portuguese Language)
FACIM	Feira Agro-Pecuária, Comercial e Industrial de Moçambique *aka* Feira Internacional de Maputo (Maputo International Fair)
FESTAC	*2nd World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture* (aka FESTAC'77)
Frelimo	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Liberation Front of Mozambique)
ICA	Institute of Contemporary Arts (London)
ICAC	*International Congress of African Culture* (Salisbury, 1962)
ILEA	Inner London Education Authority
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISPA	Instituto Superior de Psicologia Aplicada (Higher Institute of Applied Psychology, Lisbon)
ISPU	Instituto Superior Politécnico e Universitário (Maputo, now known as Universidade Polytécnica)
MoMA	Museum of Modern Art (New York)
Musart	Museu Nacional de Arte (National Museum of Art, Maputo)
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
PIDE	Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado (International and State Defense Police)
Renamo	Resistência Nacional Moçambicana
SNBA	Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes (Lisboa)

TDM	Telecomunicações de Moçambique (Telecommunications of Mozambique)
UCT	University of Cape Town
UEM	Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (Maputo)
UWC	University of the Western Cape
UN	United Nations
Unesco	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

LOCATING MALANGATANA: DECOLONISATION, AESTHETICS AND THE ROLES OF AN ARTIST IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

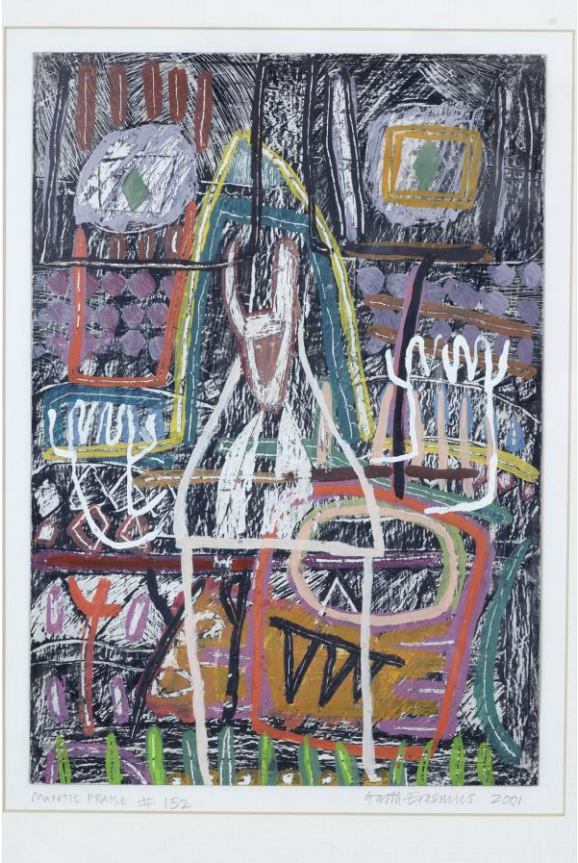
INTRODUCTION

i) Background: Locating this study

The need for this thesis arose from a series of inter-related observations that I made during the course of my work as a researcher in the field of contemporary African art. These observations built on a longer involvement as a cultural activist concerned with questions of the role of art in society, and in understanding ways in which art advances social change or reinforces systems of social control.[2]

At one level, I identified affinities between the aesthetics of a contemporary South African artist, Garth Erasmus (b. 1956), and work done in the early 1960s by Uche Okeke (1933-2016), a historic figure in modern Nigerian and African art. I observed that both artists reclaimed, or reinvented, archaic African visual forms, which they integrated into a lexicon that was equally informed by modern art developed in the West.

[2] Reference here is to my active role in the South African cultural workers and community arts movements, particularly with the Cultural Workers Congress and Community Arts Project (c. 1987-1999). During these years I participated in programmes to transform parastatal institutions and to develop cultural policy, as well as to introduce new models of art education. My early postgraduate research on Yoruba art and culture (Unisa) and contemporary South African political cartoons (UCT)was also influential in heightening my awareness of art as performing social functions.



Garth Erasmus, *Mantis Praise # 152*, 2001.

Mixed media on paper, 25 x 36cm.

Coll: The artist.

Source: http://asai.co.za/artist/garth-erasmus/

Uche Okeke, *Ana Mmuo (Land of the Dead)*, 1961.

Oil on board, 92 x 121.9cm.

Coll: National Museum of African Art, Washington DC.

Source: https://africa.si.edu/exhibits/ana.htm

That their spatial and temporal contexts were remote from each other - Erasmus was working in post-apartheid South Africa and Okeke in newly independent Nigeria - and that Erasmus was not familiar with the work of Okeke, suggested to me that, regardless of the historic specificities of each artist, certain fundamental conditions and concerns arising from periods of significant political and social change could give rise to similar visual languages.

Around the same time that I was thinking about Erasmus and Okeke, I attended a conference for the ill-fated *TransCape* Biennial exhibition in Cape Town.[3] I was struck by the earnest questioning of what constituted an African artist. That South Africans, confident of their position as a leading artistic and intellectual centre in Africa, were only beginning to ask questions that East African writers were asking of African literature some fifty years earlier highlighted how little most of us knew about the discursive field that we were poised on the edge of.[4] I began to look for other points of affinity between South African art history and a broader African art history.[5] Clearly, it seemed to me, there was a real

---

[3] A scaled down version of *TransCape* took place under the name *Cape 07*, it was the first and last edition of what was intended to be a biennial art event for Cape Town.

[4] I refer to the *Conference of African Writers of English Expression* at Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda, 11-17 June, 1962.

[5] Initial observations on this theme were presented as a lecture at the Michaelis School of Fine Art, UCT, 2006; and at a conference of the South African Visual Arts Historians, University of Stellenbosch, 2008. See M. Pissarra, "Decolonising Art in Africa". Online: *ASAI*, 2009, http://asai.co.za/decolonising-art-in-africa-some-preliminary-thoughts-on-the-relevance-of-the-discourse-on-decolonization-for-contemporary-african-art-with-particular-reference-to-post-apartheid-south-africa/ and M. Pissarra,

need for South Africans to learn more about the work of their peers on the continent. Acquiring such knowledge offered, and still offers, the prospect of deepening understanding of South African art history by ridding it of the myths of exceptionalism that South Africans have been criticised for promulgating.[6]

Another impetus for this study emanated from my perception that African intellectuals working in the visual arts were making little headway in articulating new critical frameworks. The discourse seemed, in the main, to have got bogged down with critiques of Western (mis)representations of Africa.[7] Questioning Western constructs of Africa constitutes an important starting point in developing new epistemologies, but were new frameworks being articulated? How should Africa be represented other than through 'deconstructing' or

---

"Decolonisation of art in Africa". Online: *ASAI*, 2009, http://asai.co.za/decolonisation-of-art-in-africa-a-post-apartheid-south-african-perspective/

[6] For a critique of South African exceptionalism, see M. Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996, pp.27-32. From the perspective of South African art history, we swung from apartheid-era Eurocentrism to a blinkered post-apartheid exceptionalism. I presented an argument for a comparative art history at an AICA/Vansa seminar at UCT in 2007. See M. Pissarra, "Chalk and Cheese, or Yam and Potatoes? Some thoughts on the need to develop a comparative critical practice". Online: ASAI, 2009, http://asai.co.za/chalk-and-cheese-or-yam-and-potatoes-some-thoughts-on-the-need-to-develop-a-comparative-critical-practice

[7] For a plea to break from the endless cycle of critiques of representation see M. Pissarra, "Beyond current debates on representation". Online: *ASAI*, 2006, http://asai.co.za/beyond-current-debates-on-representation-a-few-thoughts-on-the-need-to-develop-infrastructure-for-art-in-africa/ While the emphasis was on making a case for 'infrastructure' this was implicitly inclusive of new epistemologies.

decrying its misrepresentation? Similarly, if Africans were to continue making the point that art made by Africans should not be viewed as an inferior copy of Western art, how should it be viewed? What critical frameworks were being formulated to articulate African aesthetics? And what accounted for the lack of recognition in rare instances when concerted moves were made in this direction?[8] There had been, I thought, the promise of a radical new way of looking at modern and contemporary African art offered by the touring exhibition *The Short Century* (discussed in the first chapter), but this promise was not met by the architects of the project, Okwui Enwezor and Chika Okeke-Agulu.[9]

A further concern was the lack of work being done on pioneering figures in the field of modern/ contemporary African art. Art historian Sylvester Ogbechie criticised the tendency for curators to create 'omnibus' surveys of African art, and argued that more retrospective exhibitions and monographs of single artists were

---

[8] For two examples where significant efforts to introduce new epistemic frameworks informed by indigenous African concepts received little acknowledgment of this aspect see N. Nzegwu (ed), *Contemporary Textures: Multidimensionality in Nigerian art*. Binghamton: Binghamton University International Society, 1999; and S.O. Ogbechie, *Ben Enwonwu: The making of an African modernist.* Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008.

[9] O. Enwezor (ed). *The Short Century: Independence and liberation movements in Africa, 1945-1994*. Munich, London & New York: Prestel, 2001. For critiques of *The Short Century* catalogue, see M. Pissarra, "The Short Century". London: *The Africa Book Centre Book Review,* n.19, 2001, pp.4-5; and M. Pissarra, "Short Change: The curator as editor". Online: *Arthrob,* n.76, 2003, http://artthrob.co.za/03dec/reviews/pub_shortcentury.html

needed.[10] Headway has been made in this regard, notably Elizabeth Harney's study of The School of Dakar[11] and Chika Okeke-Agulu's study of a historically significant cohort of Nigerian artists, including Uche Okeke.[12] A monograph produced for the retrospective of the Sudanese painter Ibrahim el Salahi, curated by Salah Hassan, represents another high point,[13] as does Ogbechie's monograph on Ben Enwonwu.[14] However, many seminal African artists and movements remain under-researched and poorly documented, and the need for thorough historical studies remains a priority for the field.

More broadly, this research has been motivated by an awareness of international art history as a site populated with hegemonic interests (political, cultural and economic), with most of the world and its art consigned to the margins and disproportionate resources expended on researching and promoting the art of an exclusionary 'centre'. In wanting to decenter art history I have been profoundly influenced by Ngugi wa Thiong'o's notion of 'moving the centre' where he argues for a multiplicity of centres, rooted in local contexts.[15]

---

[10] S.O. Ogbechie "'Contemporary African art' in Western Spaces". Online: *HNet Discussion Networks*, 8 March 2005, http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=vx&list=H-AfrArts&month=0503&week=b&msg=2ONEudvVgtTxzoFQMLfaOg&user=&pw

[11] E. Harney, I*n Senghor's* Shadow*: Art, Politics, and the Avant-Garde in Senegal, 1960–1995*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004.

[12] C. Okeke-Agulu, *Postcolonial Modernism: Art and Decolonization in twentieth century Nigeria.* Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2015.

[13] S.M. Hassan (ed), *Ibrahim El-Salahi: A visionary modernist*. New York: Museum for African Art, 2012.

[14] Ogbechie, 2008, op.cit.

[15] Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Moving the Centre: The struggle for cultural freedoms*. Oxford: James Currey, 1993.

Notwithstanding the postmodern critique of grand narratives, I have been intrigued by the fact that some global trends, e.g. anti/imperialism, anti/colonialism, and de/colonisation[16] have been experienced by peoples all over the globe, and that artists have responded critically to these overarching narratives (through their art as well as through their assumption of various public positions). Variegated as it may be, the dominant trend in writing a new global art history is to focus on the notion of global modernisms or global modernities.[17] Such approaches overlap with the question of a decolonial art history, principally through engaging the dialectics of tradition/modernity and inter/nationalism. However, arguably, such projects risk positing an alternative, parallel modernism, one that retains a peripheral status to a hegemonic discourse. While they promise a decentralised, inclusive modern art history, the privileging of notions of modernity can only achieve the reform of canonical discourses, and risks achieving little more than adding a few select 'non-western' artists to an established international canon. Furthermore, in their focus on the 'modern' these

[16] I have replaced hyphens with slashes when an acknowledgment of contesting perspectives is necessary. For example, we can agree that Frelimo waged an anti-colonial war against the Portuguese, but in referring to the period we are faced with describing it as the colonial period (which diminishes the agency of the anti-colonial struggle) or the anti-colonial period (which diminishes situations of hegemonic colonial rule). In such cases anti/colonial is used.

[17] See, for example, K. Mercer (ed), *Cosmopolitan Modernisms*. London: inIVA & Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2005. For a more recent example (2019), see the "Connecting Modern Art Histories in Africa, South and Southeast Asia" research project launched by the Institute for Comparative Modernities, established by Salah Hassan at Cornell University. Online: http://www.icm.arts.cornell.edu/

projects mark themselves as 'historical', they do not extend to questions of unrequited or contemporary decolonisations. Alternately, what would a global art history look like if it focused on questions of anti/imperialism and anti/colonialism? How do these legacies impact on postcolonial aesthetics and relations between historical anatagonists? New movements, aesthetic impulses and contingent discourses would need to be foregrounded and a very different picture of international art history would emerge. My work, then, is intended as a modest contribution to the building 'from below' of an alternative art history. This historically situated approach seeks to identify broader themes that resonate globally. Thus, I have not only been interested in producing a study that sheds light on Malangatana, but also to develop a methodology that would open up deeper readings of artists' works, more especially those situated outside or on the margins of an exclusionary 'centre'.

I resolved on a course of thought revealed in this study that would avert the gaze from the generally insular world of South African art history. I re-visited the promise of *The Short Century*, electing to centre my enquiry on the discursive value of decolonisation, and I took my cue from Ogbechie to ground my research in a historical case study.

The choice of Malangatana was based on the following inter-related considerations:

i) The artist's canonic status as a pioneering African modernist, coupled with a poverty of substantive English texts on the artist, and a

sense that the Portuguese literature, in the main, does not constitute a body of critical scholarship.

ii) The artist is frequently associated with revolutionary struggle against colonialism. His social capital as a 'political artist' intimately associated with the struggle for independence is perhaps unmatched by any of his pan-African peers. This makes him a prime choice for a study of decolonial aesthetics.[18]

iii) The Mozambican experience of decolonisation was complex and profound. Cultural questions were central to colonial hegemonic practices (principally through the policy of assimilation). Culture was also central to anti-colonial resistance and postcolonial programmes for radical social transformation. Malangatana was active throughout these historical processes.

iv) The artist attained unparalled prominence as a

[18] It is important to acknowledge that my use of the term 'decolonial aesthetics' deviates from its usage by the Latin American school (discussed briefly below, see 1.2.6.1). Apart from the fact that they have abandoned the idea of decolonial aesthetics in favour of aesthesis, my approach is a more historical one based on analysing aesthetic trends in the visual arts during struggles for African decolonisation. In contrast the Latin American thinkers are principally concerned with epistemic challenges to contemporary globalisation, and in exploring the concepts of coloniality and decoloniality, which I do not pursue in this thesis. Hence, I use 'decolonial' in relation to 'decolonising' and 'decolonisation' in a similar manner to which 'colonial' is generally understood as the etymological source for 'colonisation' and 'colonialism'.

Mozambican artist. His stature as a national icon was established in his lifetime. The idea that Malangatana was more than an artist is frequently expressed, suggesting the need for an analysis of his cultural capital that extends beyond his art.

v) The longevity of the artist's career, spanning the anti/colonial and postcolonial periods, enables a decolonial analysis that considers aesthetic responses to both colonial subjugation and the legacies of colonialism.

ii) Purpose of this study

The main purpose of this research is twofold:

i) To contribute towards scholarship on contemporary African art by providing a historically situated case-study of a seminal public figure, Malangatana.

ii) To contribute towards the construction of an epistemological framework by exploring the value of applying decolonisation as a discursive framework for the interpretation of the 'work' of artists active in anti/colonial and postcolonial settings.[19]

In using decolonisation as a discursive framework, this research should deepen understanding of how the founding

[19] By "work" I refer not only to artworks but also to the social functions performed by the artist.

figures of modern African art were affected by and responded to colonialism and its legacy; and the manner in which they articulated new decolonial subjectivities.

While this study examines how the broader historical context impacted on the work of Malangatana, it is equally concerned with how his work as an artist contributes towards our readings of these historical moments. In other words, it advances the argument that art is not only a reflection of society but also contributes to the shaping of society and to the making of history.

iii) Research process, scope and methodology

Initially, this thesis was a comparative study of two pioneering figures, Sam Ntiro (1923-1991) and Malangatana Ngwenya (1936-2011).[20] These artists experienced two distinct colonial regimes (British and Portuguese), and therefore very different anti/colonial and postcolonial environments (Tanzania/ Uganda and Mozambique). Both Ntiro and Malangatana are foundational figures in the art history of their respective countries, and were active as artists, educators and civil servants. Both were mission educated, and public intellectuals. Aesthetically, their art is polar opposite - Ntiro painted utopian images, whereas Malangatana's vision tended towards dystopia.

[20] Commonly referred to by his first name, there are occasional variations in the spelling of Ngwenya. References in this text to Goenha, Ngwenia, and Ngwenha correspond to particular sources, as does the infrequent use of Valente as a family name.

Considerable primary research was conducted on both artists, in the form of archival research, interviews and consultations in Maputo, Washington DC, New York and London. This was complemented by close, critical readings of published material on the artists, both print and electronic, along with contextual readings including national studies and comparative texts on decolonisation. Two full chapters on Ntiro were completed. Prior to this research not a single full-length article had been published on him. However, I was unsuccessful in gaining research clearance to visit Tanzania, which was essential as very little information on the last three decades of his career was available. Faced with this asymmetry between material on Ntiro and Malangatana, the nature of my project as a comparative case study had to be modified. This setback was alleviated by the opportunity to allow my unexpectedly large mass of material on Malangatana to 'breathe'.

A key method in interpreting the career of Malangatana has been to map his exhibitions on graphs and charts, with distinctions being made between solo and group exhibitions, and between international exhibitions and those held in Mozambique. Initially this was mapped in relation to publications that were distinguished by form (news articles, magazine or journal articles, group or solo catalogues, etc), and whether these were intended for national or international audiences. This allowed me to chart both busy and quiet moments, as well as to identify key actors involved, and to situate this material within broader social and political developments. While this method was not without challenges – the absence of a detailed and accurate exhibition record being one, the impossibility of

identifying all publications on Malangatana being another – this process of visual mapping yielded many insights that would otherwise have been lost within the mass of data accumulated on Malangatana.

In limiting the scope of this research on Malangatana I concentrated on exhibitions and publications until 2011, the year of his death. This was because I was particularly interested in the social construction of Malangatana as a national symbol, and wanted to understand how this occurred within his lifetime.[21] Comparatively little attention has been paid to his biography, the key elements of which are well known, except to the extent that it becomes an important part of the construction of 'Malangatana'. Within the artist's broad *oeuvre*, the focus is on his easel paintings and drawings, and to some extent his mural paintings, as these constitute the heart of his artistic practice. Little attention is paid in this study to Malangatana's sculptures, prints, ceramics, tapestries and batiks except in so far as these contributed towards the construction of his persona as Mozambique's most accomplished visual artist. While I have acknowledged and engaged broadly with Malangatana's various cultural, educational and political roles this has been confined to the question of how his persona took on an iconic stature. Consequently, discussion of his contributions as a poet, storyteller, actor, singer and dancer, as well as of his roles as art educator and catalyser of arts

[21] A special commemorative edition of the Mozambican literary magazine *Proler* was provocatively titled "Morrer é virar Deus" (translates as "to die is to turn into God"). However, it is evident that Malangatana's iconic status was well established during his lifetime. *Proler*, n.22, July 2011.

activities and founder of cultural institutions has been restricted to an analysis of his positioning as a 'total artist'. Similarly, little attention was paid to engaging critically with his extra-artistic activity, as Frelimo cadre, social activist, civil servant, and politician, except insofar as public perception of his performance of these roles contributed towards his status as a revolutionary icon and national symbol.

In discussing the artist's paintings, I have looked for patterns across bodies of works, as well as silences. Central to my reading of his images has been the elaboration of the idea of the polemic sign, first proposed by French sociologist Jean Duvignaud (1967). The polemic sign, discussed and applied in Chapter Five, becomes central to my argument that the artist thrived on articulating ambivalences. I have also made liberal use of Duvignaud's proposition of advancing working hypotheses for the interpretation of imaginative acts, in order to highlight this study as an act of critical interpretation.

iv) Challenges and limitations of study

This thesis faced several challenges, as elaborated here:

a) Language constraints

As an anglophone researcher with a basic grasp of Portuguese, it took me longer than anticipated to work through what proved to be a large archive of Portuguese texts on Malangatana. My interventions as translator are acknowledged in respective footnotes, and the original

Portuguese text is supplied when there may be grounds for an alternate interpretation.

b) Inaccurate and incomplete records of the artist's career

It was assumed that the numerous listings of Malangatana's exhibitions could be relied on as the basis for an interpretative study. It soon became apparent that these listings contain a significant number of errors, misrepresentations and omissions. Countless hours were spent verifying whether certain commonly listed exhibitions had in fact taken place and establishing the nature of often scantily recorded events, as these impacted on an analysis of his currency as both a national and international artist. Furthermore, there often seemed to be no end to discovering evidence of exhibitions not listed in the artist's biographies. Consequently, the first chapter on Malangatana is in part a more accurate biographical account of his exhibition carteer, and a contribution to the public record. The focus, however, remains on the interpretation of this biographical information.

c) Challenges of interpretation

One of the most remarkable observations that one can make of the literature on Malangatana is that, despite its abundance, there is a paucity of discussion of individual works. Furthermore, there is a chasm between an abundance of generalised interpretations of his art and specific discussions of his iconography. Malangatana himself commented that much of the writing on his art was superficial and vapid. While he attributed this to most

critics not having experienced the problems his works addressed,[22] this does not fully explain the challenges faced in interpreting his art.

Part of the explanation for the lack of detailed discussion of specific works and of his iconography is that, despite the literary qualities of Malangatana, a published poet who often assigned evocative titles to his images, there are few of his works that are literal in the sense of communicating a clear, unambiguous narrative. Nor are most of his works literal in the sense that his iconography does not always lend itself to treatment as symbol or metaphor, where 'meaning' can be translated neatly into spoken or written text.

A complicating observation, explored in the fourth chapter, is that Malangatana himself operates as a charged, multi-valent sign. In a sense, his personality and public profile often upstaged his art. Consequently, much of the literature concentrates on his biography and persona/s, with little attention paid to the detail of his primary craft as a painter.

d) Resources

My two brief research visits to Maputo occurred in the period directly after the artist's death. I was unable to access the artist's studio and library during the mourning period. It is self-evident that many of the ideas explored here would benefit from further research in Mozambique, as well as in Portugal where Malangatana

[22] J. Serra, "Malangatana: 'Também pinto para a minoria que programa, organiza e orienta a maioria'". Lourenço Marques: *Tempo*, n.160, 7 October 1973, p.35.

held most of his solo exhibitions. It also became clear that Ulli Beier's archive, in Australia, may well hold the key to many of the mysteries concerning Malangatana's early international career.

A consequence of having to conduct this study from a distance is that I relied heavily on published images. Apart from the obvious constraints this presented for my selection of works, the quality of reproductions presented another challenge. Colour is an important element in the artist's aesthetic, and in at least one case, I expended some time discussing the significance of earthy tones only to find much later that 'browns' were in fact reds!

v) Structure

Chapter One begins by surveying major trends in the positioning of 'African art', from its initial assimilation into western modernism as a sign of primitivism through to its current formulation as a differentiated field that spans the 'traditional' and the 'contemporary'.[23] This survey introduces the argument that decolonisation presents opportunities for a radical reappraisal of art produced in anti/colonial and postcolonial contexts. The nature of 'decolonisation' as a floating signifier is engaged, with some emphasis on cultural decolonisation. The argument for a decolonial perspective on Mozambique is also presented in this chapter.

[23] The influential *African Arts* journal (published by the University of California) has in recent years introduced "popular arts" to supplement sub-genres of the "traditional" and "contemporary".

The second chapter surveys existing literature on pioneering African modernists, in order to identify key visual responses to the anti/colonial and postcolonial moments. This serves to introduce a comparative frame that informs the identification of visual and ideological tropes which are explored in the fifth chapter. In addition, the second chapter is revisited in the conclusion, with regards to how the case of Malangatana affirms, augments or departs from the decolonial aesthetic evident in the work of his peers.

Chapter Three is the first of three on Malangatana. It provides a biography of his exhibition career. Apart from attempting to provide a more accurate, empirical account of his exhibition career, the emphasis is on understanding how changing political conditions introduce/d new opportunities (and challenges or limitations) for defining the scope of his career as a national and international artist. This chapter also distinguishes between divergent publics and the role of different brokers and networks in shaping his career.

The following chapter addresses the nature of Malangatana as a national and international symbol. It is argued that 'Malangatana' operates as a cultural sign that is much greater than the sum of his artworks. Through a close reading of texts, I distinguish distinct but complementary tropes that collectively establish a larger than life persona for the artist.

Chapter 5 examines the paintings and drawings of Malangatana by foregrounding four decolonial frames for the artist. Each of these lenses is situated within the

evolving Mozambican and global context. This chapter develops the idea of the polemic sign as integral to understanding his art. The polemic sign, I argue, operates in relation to symbols and metaphors but avoids fixed meaning in favour of articulating deeply ambivalent, often unsettling provocations.

The conclusion summarises the key findings and arguments. Malangatana's decolonial aesthetics is considered in relation to that of his peers. The thesis concludes by highlighting a series of questions raised as a consequence of this study.

CHAPTER ONE

DECOLONISATION AS A DISCURSIVE FRAMEWORK FOR MODERN/CONTEMPORARY AFRICAN ART

This chapter is an overview of the development of a discursive field for modern and contemporary African art, seen in relation to a discussion on the meanings of 'decolonisation'. This explores the rationale behind the need to articulate the aesthetics of decolonisation with specific regard to art produced in the anti/colonial and postcolonial periods.

1.1 Unpacking 'African art': Discursive phases

1.1.1 The 'discovery' of African art

Examples of African material and visual culture, commonly referred to as African art (or traditional African art) were incorporated into European collections from at least the 15th century, concurrent with the growth of European imperialisms. However, these objects and artifacts were generally not considered to be art until the early twentieth century, and then only by a small avant-garde who appropriated African (and other non-western or 'primitive') art forms for their own ends.[24] By the 1920s

[24] For an overview of the early evolution of African art studies see A.A. Gerbrands, "The History of African Art Studies", in A.A. Gerbrands, H.J. Drewal, R. Abiodun, et al. *African Art Studies: The state of the discipline*. Washington D.C.: National Museum of African Art, 1990, pp.11-28. For an early account of the avant-garde's appropriation of African (and other non-western) art, see R. Goldwater, *Primitivism in Modern Painting*. New York, London, Harper &

and 1930s these works began to be moved from the domain of ethnography to art.[25]

With art history and the sociology of art centred on Western culture,[26] the study of the field demarcated as 'African art' was initially dominated by Western anthropologists, and to a lesser extent, archeologists.[27] Early studies, with few exceptions, situated artistic practice as anonymous and collective, as an expression of tribal identity and culture, and located within a timeless 'ethnographic present'.[28] While there has been

---

Brothers, 1967 [first edition 1938]. See also W. Rubin (ed), *Primitivism in 20th Century Art*: *Affinity of the tribal and the modern.* New York: Museum of *Modern Art*, 1984.

[25] James Clifford, "Histories of the Tribal and the Modern", referenced in E. Harney, 2004, op.cit. P.28. Gerbrands dates this shift to "after 1925". Gerbrands op.cit. P.24.

[26] The sole reference to African art in a reader on the sociology of art presents a crude binary between colonial-era tribal identity and postcolonial national identity, with no hint of any awareness of the nationalistic basis of much contemporary African art in the anti/colonial period. See J. Tanner (ed), *The Sociology of Art: A reader*. London: Routledge, 2003, p.108.

[27] Prominent examples include Leo Frobenuis (1873-1938), Melville J. Herskovits (1895-1963), Marcel Griaule (1898-1956), Frans M. Olbrechts (1899-1958), Hans Himmelheber (1908-2003), William Bascom (1912-1981), William Fagg (1914-1992), Philip Dark (1918-2008), Warren d'Azevedo (1920-2014), Daniel J. Crowley (1921-1998), Jean Laude (1922-1984), Frank Willett (1925-2006), Daniel P. Biebuyck (b.1925), and Paula Girshick (formerly Ben-Amos). The first two PhD's awarded for African art history in the USA were in 1957 and 1966, to Roy Sieber (1923-2001) and Robert Farris Thompson (b.1932).

[28] Henry John Drewal notes that despite general anthropological trends to survey cultures, it was anthropologists in the 1960s and 1970s who began to study individual artists. He cites as examples Himmelheber (1960), Bascom (1973), Biebuyck (1969), and d'Azevedo (1973). See H.J. Drewal "African Art Studies Today", in Gerbrands et al. Op.cit. P.37.

much progress in scholarship on traditionalist African art, this view of African art as outside of History and peripheral to Art remains strong. It can be noted that publications promising world histories of art increasingly include small sections on African art,[29] but to date no major Western Art museum incorporates traditional African art into its 'international' art exhibitions, unless exploring the relationship between self and the other. Only a select few, in recent years, have begun to exhibit work by a small number of contemporary African artists.

1.1.2 The emergence of modern and contemporary African art

Concurrent with the ascent of a study and, importantly, a market in traditional African art, Africans began producing an art that was influenced by western conventions, particularly easel painting.[30] In several cases informal workshops, mostly established by expatriates, served as the catalyst for this development.[31] Formal institutions, notably art departments in universities established by colonial administrations (mostly English), have also been

[29] For an early example of this trend see H. Honour and J. Fleming, *A World History of Art*. London: Macmillan, 1982.

[30] Early pioneering figures are as diverse as the Nigerian portraitist Aina Onabolu (1882-1963), 'naïve' Congolese watercolourist Albert Lubaki (b. circa 1895), and the South African modernist Ernest Mancoba (1904-2002).

[31] For an overview of workshops see E. Court, "Movements, Centres, Workshops and Colectives", in C. Deliss (ed), *Seven Stories about Modern Art in Africa*. Paris & New York: Flammarion, 1995, pp.297-301.

influential.[32] However, this trend remained marginal within the concept of African art,[33] itself marginal in art historical discourse.[34]

During the 1960s the first serious studies of contemporary African art were published. This coincided with the rise of independent African states in the late 1950s and early 1960s.[35] The most influential of these studies was by the Austrian academic, publisher, and curator, Ulli Beier (1922-2011).[36] Beier, who was also active researching and publishing on traditional African culture (particularly Yoruba sculpture and cosmology), set the template for many subsequent surveys (exhibitions and books). A canonical group of pan-African (sub-Saharan) artists, largely self-taught (and including Malangatana), began to take shape. For their advocates, the work of these artists was largely uncorrupted by western concepts of art, and represented continuity with older, culturally embedded practice, albeit presented in new forms for new audiences. For detractors, the work was derivative of modern (western) art, off-limits to Africans who were expected to produce a canonical,

---

[32] See E. Court, "Art Colleges, Universities and Schools", in Deliss op.cit. Pp.291-296.

[33] See the influential journal *African Arts* (founded 1967), and the very gradual escalation of articles on the modern and contemporary.

[34] Most of the (acknowledged) premier international art museums have no or little African representation. African art is usually consigned to ethnographic museums.

[35] The first major overview was a project of the philanthropic Harmon Foundation. See E.S. Brown, *Africa's Contemporary Art and Artists.* New York: Division of Social Research and Experimentation, Harmon Foundation, 1966.

[36] U. Beier, *Contemporary Art from Africa*. London: Pall Mall Press; & New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968.

traditional art, regardless that the social, political, economic and cultural context had, in most cases, changed profoundly.[37]

By the late 1970s the international (western) interest in this generation of work, select as this interest had been, had dissipated. The catalystic events for injecting vigour into the receding discourse were a series of high-profile international exhibitions. The first of these was *Primitivism in Modern Art: Affinities of the tribal and the modern*, curated by William Rubin for the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1984.[38] *Primitivism* was an ambitious exhibition that traced precise historical links between specific tribal artifacts and singular works by modern (western) masters. It was also a historic intervention for relocating a large body of work from ethnographic displays into the citadel of modern art, albeit for a temporary period. However, the exhibition's merits were overshadowed by a devastating critique that non-western art was only of significance when it elucidated western art and that it was not being assessed on its own terms, for its own merit and value.[39]

In 1989 Jean Hubert Martin curated *Magiciens de la Terre* (Magicians of the Earth), at the Pompidou Centre, Paris, *Magiciens* was expressly intended to address the

---

[37] For a seminal critique of the ways in which the African art market's premium on authenticity manifests many of the implicit contradictions in the demarcation of the 'traditional', see S.L. Kasfir, "African Art and Authenticity: A text with a shadow". Los Angeles: *African Arts,* v.25 n.2, 1992, pp.40-53,96-97.

[38] Rubin op.cit.

[39] For the incendiary launch of this critique see T. McEvilley "Doctor, Lawyer, Indian Chief: 'Primitivism' in Modern Art at the Museum of Modern Art". New York: *Artforum,* v.23 n.3, 1984, pp.54-61.

weaknesses of the *Primitivism* show. This it proposed to do by exhibiting western and non-western art alongside each other. In other words, it departed from *Primitivism in Modern Art* by not treating non-western art as a source of inspiration for western art. However, Martin's cardinal error was to juxtapose the work of traditional and popular artists from Africa, Australia and other margins with the work of (mostly) university educated, avant-garde western artists. In particular, the exclusion of university educated 'others' brought into stark relief the asymmetry between the 'educated' (western) self and the uneducated (non-western) other.[40]

The critique engendered by *Magiciens* found further expression in the reception to *Africa Explores*: *20th Century African Art*, a touring exhibition curated by Susan Vogel of The Center for African Art, New York, that opened in 1991.[41] By overwhelmingly favouring self-taught (non-university educated) African artists, *Africa Explores* was roundly condemned by a new generation of critics, among them an emerging generation of African-born curators living in the West. *Africa Explores* was followed by a series of exhibitions from the collection of Jean Pigozzi, which was influenced by the earlier *Magiciens de la Terre* exhibition.[42] The cumulative effect of these exhibitions was a critical backlash against the neo-primitivist leanings of curators from the USA and

---

[40] See R. Araeen, "Our Bauhaus, Others' Mudhouse". London: *Third Text*, v.3 n.6, 1989, pp.3-14.

[41] S. Vogel with I. Ebong, *Africa Explores: 20th century African art*. New York: Center for African Art, 1991.

[42] Pigozzi contracted the services of André Magnin, curator of *Magiciens de la Terre*, to build his collection.

Europe,[43] a phenomenon dubbed the "Pigozzi paradigm" by Ogbechie.[44]

By the late 1990s a self-styled discourse in 'contemporary African art' had established sufficient momentum to distinguish itself from the pioneering studies in this field. Significantly, this was the first time that African-born curators, artists and writers were central to the discursive framing of 'African art'. The signal event was the publication of the anthology *Reading the Contemporary: African art from theory to the marketplace*, edited by Okwui Enwezor and Olu Oguibe, Nigerian-born curators and academics resident in the USA.[45] Drawing on a hitherto dispersed body of scholarship, this anthology heralded the coming of age of a new generation of scholarship. Notable here is the shift from the 'contemporary' of Beier, and before him Evelyn Brown, which was now increasingly being described as 'modern', signaling an earlier phase in the development of the discourse.[46]

---

[43] For a critical account of this generation of exhibitions see J. Picton, "In Vogue, or The Flavour of the Month: The new way to wear black", in O. Oguibe and O. Enwezor (eds), *Reading the Contemporary: African art from theory to the marketplace*. London: InIVA, 1999, pp.115-126.

[44] Ogbechie used this phrase in presenting a lecture at the *TransCape* conference, Cape Town International Convention Centre, 5 November 2005.

[45] Oguibe and Enwezor op.cit.

[46] The concept of 'contemporary art' dates back to the early 20th century. During the 1960s it was applied to African art in studies by Brown, 1966, op.cit.; and Beier, 1968, op.cit. In more recent decades the concept of contemporary art has often implied the use of 'non-traditional' media, leading to earlier 'contemporary' art (notably paintings, sculpture, printmaking, etc.) being retrospectively designated as 'modern'. In contrast, some authors have used the term

Several exhibitions curated by an emerging cohort of African-born curators, mostly resident in the USA and Europe, followed. For the purposes of this study the most significant of these was *The Short Century: Independence and liberation movements in Africa, 1945-1994*, curated by Enwezor, which toured Europe and the USA.[47] This exhibition was significant in positing that Africa's modern and contemporary art should first and foremost be situated in dialogue with Africa's quest for liberation and independence. In short, decolonisation. In positing this hypothesis, *The Short Century* marked a radical departure from two previous orthodoxies. Firstly, it distanced itself from the tendency of anthropologically inclined writers to depoliticise Africa's modern art by focusing on questions of tradition and modernity, without cognisance of broader political struggles. Secondly, it presented an alternative to the practice of Eurocentric art historians, curators and critics who position and evaluate Africa's modern art against a supposedly neutral and universalist epistemology that is in fact blinkered, thereby ensuring that non-western art will always be viewed as derivative and inferior.

From the perspective of a survey of trends in contemporary African art, much has happened since *The*

'contemporary African art' as inclusive of the 'modern' (and indeed even of certain 'traditional' forms). See for example S.L. Kasfir, *Contemporary African Art*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1999. While I am inclined to concur with Kasfir on an inclusive application of the contemporary, I acknowledge that some readers may apply distinctions to these two terms. Accordingly, I have tended to use the amalgam modern/contemporary for the purposes of this thesis.

[47] Enwezor op.cit.

Short Century. The select assimilation of a few leading African artists and curators (notably Enwezor) into an undifferentiated 'globalised' sphere represents one trend; as does a counter trend, the growth and consolidation of a market for contemporary African art.[48] The increasing buy-in of Africans to the biennial model of city-based international exhibitions represents a third trend.[49] At the level of aesthetics, questions of globalisation and identity remain prevalent. For the purposes of this study there is less concern with mapping recent permeations of contemporary African art discourse. Rather, the focus is on the emergence of a decolonial discourse in African art history.

1.1.3 A decolonial (African) art history: first steps

The Short Century was not the first project to link African art to decolonisation. In 1989 Nigerian art historian Ola Oloidi, who studied the interface between art and nationalism, wrote that Yoruba artist Akintola Lasekan (1916-1972) "attacked the abrasive experiences of British colonial rule. His nationalism was mainly directed towards political freedom, social justice and

[48] Auctions and art fairs are leading commercial platforms for the visual arts. Established auction houses now hold specialist auctions for modern and contemporary African art. Bonhams held the first of these in London, 2000, and Sotheby's held their inaugural edition in London, 2017. Editions of *1:54 Contemporary African Art Fair* have been held in London and New York since 2013. Marrakech was added to *1:54* circuit in 2018.

[49] African cities that currently host international biennials include Alexandria, Cairo, Marrakech, Dakar, Bamako, Douala, Kampala and Lubumbashi.

mental 'decolonisation'."[50] Oloidi also asserted that "art was clearly instrumental both in the winning of independence and in the de-colonialising of the country's environment and cultural heritage."[51] Fleeting references to decolonisation appear several times in Simon Ottenberg's study of the Nsukka Group, *New Traditions from Nigeria* (1997);[52] and in Hamid Irbouh's study of Farid Belkahia (1998), where it is linked to the notion of authenticity.[53] Decolonisation's currency as a critical trope for African art was underlined by Sydney Littlefield Kasfir, who devoted one chapter to it in her Thames and Hudson survey, *Contemporary African Art* (1999).[54]

These precedents aside, it was Enwezor's *The Short Century* that gave decolonisation its grandest platform in the art world. While *The Short Century* should be applauded for the epistemic break it heralded, it failed to develop its own thesis. The central idea – that independence and liberation movements provide an intellectual framework – is oddly not explored in the 600-page catalogue. Instead, the catalogue elaborates its

---

[50] O. Oloidi, "Art and Nationalism in Colonial Nigeria", in Deliss op.cit. P.194 [first published in the *Nsukka Journal of History*, 1989]. Note Oloidi's tentative decolonial discourse, evident in his use of inverted commas for "decolonisation".

[51] Ibid.

[52] S. Ottenberg, *New Traditions from Nigeria: Seven artists of the Nsukka Group*. Washington & London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997.

[53] H. Irbouh, "Farid Belkahia: A Moroccan Artist's Search for Authenticity", in N. Nzegwu (ed), *Issues in Contemporary African Art*. Binghamton, NY: International Society for the Study of Africa at Binghamton University, 1998, pp.46-68.

[54] Kasfir, 1999, op.cit.

position through *inference* and not *argument*. Inference works through the cumulative *effect* of the juxtaposition of historical material relating to arts and politics. This establishes, in visual terms, a broad artistic, social and political *context* (not *cultural*, because questions of religion, ethnicity and language were not really factored into *The Short Century*). While the multi-disciplinary nature of *The Short Century* is apparent, it was basically a visual arts project and thus it is disappointing that its catalogue yields little by way of presenting an intellectual framework for interpreting the visual arts. Indeed, the visual arts are almost lost in the catalogue, and the illustrated artworks (i.e. the images of artworks exhibited) receive no commentary at all. A comparatively short survey of modern African art by Chika Okeke[-Agulu] is useful as an introduction to the field, but does not directly address the relationship between its topic and the exhibition as a whole.[55] And for a project that covered music, theatre, film, and much more, it is surprising to find that the very idea of *cultural* decolonisation was side-stepped, leading to a narrow vision of decolonisation centred on the transfer of power from the former coloniser to the formerly colonised, with strong emphasis on the late 1950s and early 1960s.[56]

Subsequent to *The Short Century*, decolonisation has surfaced intermittently as a key theme for scholars and curators. The publication, in 2004, of Elizabeth Harney's *In Senghor's Shadow: Art, politics, and the avant-garde*

[55] C. Okeke[-Agulu], "Modern African Art". In Enwezor op.cit. Pp.29-36.

[56] Pissarra, 2002, op.cit.

in Senegal, 1960-1995;[57] in 2012, of Hamid Irbouh's *Art in the Service of Colonialism: French art education in Morocco 1912-1956;*[58] and more recently, in 2015, of Chika Okeke-Agulu's *Postcolonial Modernism: Art and decolonization in twentieth-century Nigeria*[59] represent the beginnings of a substantive literature on African art and decolonisation. That curators continue to mine decolonisation for its ongoing relevance is evident in the 2018 edition of *Dak'Art*, the Dakar biennial, where explicit references are made to Frantz Fanon, Aimé Césaire and Leopold Sedar Senghor.[60]

Okeke-Agulu's monograph deserves special attention here, as it is, in some respects, similar in *intent* to this thesis. As with this study, it sets out to build on lessons learned from *The Short Century*.[61] Further, it

---

[57] Harney, 2004, op.cit.

[58] H. Irbouh, *Art in the Service of Colonialism: French art education in Morocco 1912-1956*. London & New York: I.B. Taurus, 2012.

[59] Okeke-Agulu, 2015, op.cit.

[60] See the curatorial statement by Simon Njami and press info on the Dak'Art website, http://biennaledakar.org/

[61] *The Short Century* set me on a path that, in addition to above-mentioned reviews and exploratory papers on decolonisation, led to an an article exploring the relevance of decolonisation for the interpretation of Malangatana. See M. Pissarra, "Re-reading Malangatana". Lagos: *Farafina*, n.11, 2007, pp.13-17 [subsequently re-published with extensive notes. Online: ASAI, 2007, http://www.asai.co.za/word-view/research/item/42-re-reading-malangatana.html]. I also convened two panel sessions on art and decolonisation for an international art history conference at the University of Witwatersrand (organised by the South African Visual Arts Historians in association with the Comité International d'Histoire de l'Art). See M. Pissarra, "Art and Decolonisation: Small Steps Towards a Global Art History", in SAVAH, *Other Views: Art history in (South) Africa and the global south. Colloquium proceedings*. Online: SAVAH, 2012, pp.15-18.

combines a historically situated study with the broader intention to formulate a theoretical response to a global 'movement' of artists that arose in contingency with political decolonisation.[62] That Okeke-Agulu and I took very different insights from *The Short Century*, and that we apply fundamentally divergent understandings of decolonisation becomes increasingly clear throughout the course of this study.

In his book *Postcolonial Modernism*, Okeke-Agulu presents an argument for postcolonial modernism as a cultural

---

http://www.savah.org.za/files/OtherViews%20SAVAHCIHAColloquium2011WebDocument.pdf. All these endeavours led to this thesis.

[62] Ottenberg was perhaps the first African arts scholar to note that aesthetic manifestos such as Natural Synthesis were part of a global trend. He commented that "such a synthesis in art has not been uncommon among third and fourth world contemporary artists in this century, but the history of its evolution and the forms it has taken vary greatly. The Zaria students seemed unaware that they were part of a broad world art movement and were excited by the growth of their own viewpoints." Ottenberg op.cit. P.32. Elsewhere Ottenberg situates Natural Synthesis as "part of a worldwide reaction to cultural suppression by the Euro/American world, taking different forms in different geographic and cultural areas." Ottenberg op.cit. Pp.253-254. Ogbechie makes a similar remark, that Natural Synthesis "can be seen in the context of a broad international movement by colonized societies questioning and reflecting their dependence on the tropes and cultures of the colonizer." See Ogbechie, "Zaria Art Society and the Uli Movement, Nigeria", in N. Fall and J.L. Pivin (eds), *An Anthology of African Art: The twentieth century*. New York: Distributed Art Publishers, 2002, p.248. From a seldomly associated field, contemporary Indian art, see Partha Mitter's comment that: "The problematic relationship between global modernity and national identity was the dominant theme of Indian art through the twentieth century as indeed of arts of the Third World in general." P. Mitter, *Indian Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, p.189.

phenomenon that "emerges" in Nigeria during the first half of the twentieth century, and finds fruition[63] in the post-independence era, which, for Okeke-Agulu, terminates with the Civil War (1967-1970). In other words, postcolonial modernism bridges the anti/colonial and postcolonial periods, which, as we will see in the discussion below, is a 'function' assigned by many writers to the decolonial.

To understand Okeke-Agulu's perspective on the postcolonial as taking shape during colonial rule it is instructive to grasp that Uche Okeke outlined the objectives of Natural Synthesis, central to the author's construction of Postcolonial Modernism, a few days before Nigerian Independence. By that time Okeke had already been charged with responsibility to co-curate the official Independence Day exhibition.[64] This means that the manifesto of the Art Society was oriented towards an independent Nigeria; their project was conceived in response to the promise of freedom, not in the swelter of anti-colonial resistance to colonial rule. It is therefore plausible to position their project as postcolonial, regardless of its temporal origins in the anti/colonial period, more especially because, as Okeke-Agulu maintains, it is in the post-independence period that the promise of the thesis proposed (in the late colonial period) by the Art Society, namely that of Natural Synthesis, comes of age.[65] In this sense Okeke-

[63] Okeke-Agulu uses the terms "elaborated" and "inaugurated" to make the point that postcolonial modernism comes of age after independence. Okeke-Agulu, 2015, op.cit. P.1.

[64] Ibid. P.141.

[65] The evolution of Natural Synthesis from Zaria to Nsukka was earlier outlined by Okeke-Agulu in the catalogue for the *Seven*

Agulu follows Kwame Anthony Appiah, whom he references.[66] Appiah distinguishes between being "literally postcolonial" (the period after political independence) and the meaning of the 'post' in postcolonial (and postmodernism), which he argues performs the work of a "space-clearing gesture", where rational distinctions between the exclusive claims of the antecedent (coloniality or modernity) and that of the *post* are often difficult to distinguish.[67] Certainly, Okeke-Agulu uses postcolonial modernism to make the claim for the radical value of the Art Society cohort. In this respect he is more driven by his interest in influencing the narrative of Nigerian art than he is in finding qualities that make postcolonial modernism a useful construct for the international movement which he places the Art Society within.[68]

Stories about Modern Art in Africa exhibition. See C. Okeke[-Agulu], "The Quest: From Zaria to Nsukka", in Deliss op.cit. Pp.40-75. This essay was revised for Oguibe and Enwezor op.cit. The Zaria to Nsukka narrative later constituted a central theme in Okeke-Agulu, 2015, op.cit. This focus on the postcolonial period for discussions on aesthetic decolonisations is not unique. Even Irbouh, who notes that "Moroccan artists began contributing to artistic decolonization long before independence" focuses on Belkahia's postcolonial work. See Irbouh, 2008, op.cit. P.47.

[66] Okeke-Agulu, 2015, op.cit. Pp.13,15.

[67] K.A. Appiah, The Postcolonial and the Postmodern", in Oguibe and Enwezor op.cit. Pp.48-73.

[68] There has been a fairly fierce contestation about the narrative of modern Nigerian art, best exemplified in Ogbechie's advocation of Enwonwu as having prefigured the Natural Synthesis of Uche Okeke, and Okeke-Agulu's emphatic positioning of Okeke as the pivotal figure. This contestation between art historians parallels that of the artists themselves during the independence period. See Ogbechie, 2008, op.cit. and Okeke-Agulu, 2015, op.cit.

There are some grey areas in Okeke-Agulu's formulation of postcolonial modernism. On one hand he proposes it as an "analytical concept" that helps make sense of a specifically Nigerian, twentieth century phenomenon.[69] However his focus is on the work of a particular cohort of artists, mostly but not exclusively members of the [Zaria] Art Society, over little more than a decade that can be loosely characterised as the "mid-twentieth century". Despite often detailed discussion of Nigerian art in the anti/colonial period, he does not actually present an argument for *any* art produced before the formation of the Art Society as "postcolonial modernism". His elaboration of nationalist subjectivity in the work of pioneering artist Aina Onabolu eventually earns the epithet of "colonial modernism."[70] One can also note Okeke-Agulu's exclusion of any reference to work produced by the members of the Art Society (and others, Nigerian or not) beyond 1968. By inference, art produced after 1968 does not, or at least may not, constitute postcolonial modernism. In other words, there is a contradiction between the declared scope of the project and its actual scope.[71]

To understand Okeke-Agulu's focus on an extremely limited passage of time, one can look to two contributing factors:

---

[69] Okeke-Agulu proposes "postcolonial modernism as an analytical concept for *this* study of the conjunction of art and the politics of decolonization in *twentieth century Nigeria*". Ibid. Pp.12-13 (emphasis added)

[70] Ibid. P.133.

[71] I raised similar concerns in my critique of *The Short Century* catalogue, where I highlighted the concurrence of divergent time-frames applied by different writers, and the confusion this created for the project as a whole. See Pissarra, 2003, op.cit.

i) The tendency to view decolonisation as a historical epoch.

ii) The tendency to equate decolonisation with the formation of the nation-state. In this model, the collapse of the national project with the onset of civil war signals the end of decolonisation, rather than the rupture of a particular decolonial phase.

A weakness of Okeke-Agulu's application of nationalism as a synonym for nation-state formation is his failure to recognise competing models of nationalism. This will become clear in the discussion on nationalism/s below as well as in the following chapter where I engage with aesthetic responses to decolonisation. A consequence of this restrictive view of nationalism is that Okeke-Agulu seeks evidence for his particular formulation of nationalism,[72] and fails to see signs of concurrent nationalisms. A striking example of this is his discussion of Nwoko's mural painting *The Gift of Talents* (1962).[73] Okeke-Agulu uses Nwoko and Okeke as counterfoils for two different orientations of Nigerian nationalism, with Okeke cast as ethnic nationalism (Igbo) and Nwoko as "trans ethnic nationalism".[74] Okeke-Agulu uses the mural

[72] Okeke-Agulu's approach to nationalism draws on the work of historian James Coleman. See Okeke-Agulu, 2015, op.cit. Pp.207-208. Coleman's conservative approach to decolonisation is criticised by fellow historian Thomas Hodgkin (see 1.2.4).

[73] Okeke-Agulu, 2015, op.cit. P.197.

[74] This contrast is central to Okeke-Agulu's analysis. See Okeke-Agulu, "Nationalism and the Rhetoric of Modernism in Nigeria: The art of Uche Okeke and Demas Nwoko, 1960-2968". Los Angeles: *African Arts*, v.39, n.1, 2006, pp.26-37,92-93; and Okeke-Agulu, 2015, op.cit. Pp.207-208.

to demonstrate Nwoko's use of diverse (regionally and ethnically based) examples of Nigerian cultural patrimony, specifically his incorporation of visual referents to Igbo and Nok sculpture. Okeke-Agulu also includes brief reference to western sources, consistent with the central, 'inclusive' tenet of Natural Synthesis. However, the most striking aspect of Nwoko's mural, namely that it draws significantly on the conventions of Egyptian mural paintings, receives no comment whatsoever.[75] If Okeke-Agulu's model of decolonisation included *challenges* to the nation-state (which, after all, is a colonial invention), he would see the Egyptian references as clear evidence of Nwoko's interest in articulating a pan African aesthetic, i.e. a transnational decolonial aesthetic.[76]

Okeke-Agulu's conservative approach to nationalism and decolonisation limits the value of his project as a historically situated case study, and also weakens the theoretical potential of his book. Indeed, where Okeke-Agulu's postcolonial modernism project really comes

[75] The composition uses horizontal registers to position figures, a canonical feature of Egyptian painting. Most of the figures in the mural are modeled on well-known examples of Egyptian painting. Illustrated in Okeke-Agulu, 2015, op.cit. P.197.

[76] Another example of this conservative view of decolonisation can be detected in Okeke-Agulu's reference to a sculpture by Nwoko titled *Senegalese Woman*. This work is referred to along with another, *The Philosopher*. The two works are used to make a point about "timelessness" with nothing being said about Nwoko's choice of a Senegalese subject. Noting that Enwonwu's work is often discussed in relation to negritude, and that this constitutes evidence of a pan African current in Nigerian art, one may well have expected Okeke-Agulu to have something to say about Nwoko's choice of subject. Okeke-Agulu, 2015, op.cit. P.205.

unstuck is in its ambition to serve as a theoretical construct to denote an "international mid-twentieth century phenomenon."[77] This balance, between a historically situated study (in essence, the Art Society cohort in mid-twentieth century Nigeria) and a theoretical enunciation of a broader global phenomenon, constitutes something of a crisis for the success of his argument. Nowhere is this clearer than in his discussion of Malangatana.

Malangatana performs an important function in Okeke-Agulu's positioning of Nigeria as a significant international centre in the late 1950s and early 1960s, specifically through the work of the *Mbari* movement. A similar function was assigned to Malangatana in *The Short Century*, and more explicitly in the exhibition *Century City: Lagos 1955-70*, curated by Enwezor and Oguibe.[78] Okeke-Agulu, in discussing early paintings by Malangatana (produced in 1961) claims that these works "left no doubt of his unusual ability to invent pictorial compositions that powerfully articulate the unpredictable outcomes of the clash of the *postcolonial* subject's multiple religious, social, and political worlds."[79]

[Pause]. Paintings produced by Malangatana in 1961 articulate the *postcolonial* condition? Note that this comment is applied to an artwork produced on the eve of the formation of Frelimo (1962), three years before the

[77] Ibid. P.2.

[78] This exhibition formed part of a broader exhibition at Tate Modern, London, which focused on the art of nine major cities at different points in time. See I. Blazwick (ed), *Century City: Art and Culture in the Modern Metropolis*. London: Tate Gallery, 2001.

[79] Okeke-Agulu, 2015, op.cit. P.162 (emphasis added).

declaration of an armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism (1964), and a full fourteen years before political independence for Mozambique (1975). How plausible is it to discuss work by a Mozambican artist in 1961 as 'postcolonial', and to describe Malangatana, at that juncture, as a "postcolonial subject"? This is not Uche Okeke and Nwoko in 1958, with Nigerian independence on the horizon. This is an artist who, at that point, had not even travelled outside of Mozambique, and whose political understanding was still relatively undeveloped.[80] An artist who would subsequently become involved in a revolutionary anti-colonial movement. What *postcolonial* "religious, social and political worlds" are articulated in these early works by Malangatana? What is clear is that, claims of postcolonial modernism aside, Okeke-Agulu's reading of Malangatana follows what Julian Beinart wrote on Malangatana in *Black Orpheus* in 1962.[81] As will be elaborated later,[82] Beinart was part of an intellectual network with Beier, Frank McEwen (1907-1994), and not least, Pancho Guedes. This network promoted a particularly ahistorical, apolitical interpretation of Malangatana that rooted him in an imaginary collective unconscious. Here we find Okeke-Agulu, over five decades later, who, in his search for evidence of 'synthesis' as an aesthetic programme reproduces an outdated, ahistorical, apolitical view of Malangatana as representing a universal 'clash of cultures'. This is an act of Nigerian centrism,

---

[80] H. Matusse, "Malangatana O Homen e o Artista". Maputo: *Tempo,* 9 March 1986, pp.49-50. In this interview the artist acknowledged his early political mentors.

[81] J. Beinart, "Malangatana". Ibadan: *Black Orpheus*, n.10, 1961, pp.22-27.

[82] See 3.2.2.1 and 4.5.2.

projecting the discourses of a newly independent Nigeria onto a vastly different African context.[83] If, conversely, Okeke-Agulu had not tied his theoretical construct to a specific decade, and rather formulated sets of responses that arise from a particular matrix (political, cultural, economic), then he may well have advanced postcolonial modernism as a construct applicable in multiple contexts.

It must be underscored that Okeke-Agulu's project - the undertaking of a historically situated study of pioneering African modernists, and the intention to extrapolate themes and patterns pertaining to broader aesthetic movements, as a necessary intellectual project to counter the exclusionary narratives of hegemonic models of modernism – is a necessary initiative. However, Okeke-Agulu's elaboration of postcolonial modernism inadvertently highlights the challenges and difficulties of applying such terms as decolonial or postcolonial as overarching conceptual frames. The question of where, in what sets of circumstances, they begin and end, and at what point they prove to be an impediment to an open, nuanced study, has to be constantly interrogated.

[83] Earlier Okeke-Agulu cautioned about generalisations, "the challenges faced by African artists … depended on the specific histories of their countries, as well as on the intellectual, political, and artistic philosophies and ideologies to which they were exposed. As such, despite discernable, even obvious commonalities – such as the overwhelming disposition to inventing new forms expressive of the spirit of political and artistic freedom – it is reductive to speak about an African modernism; indeed we see diverse, contemporaneous modernisms in Africa." C. Okeke-Agulu, "The Challenge of the Modern: An introduction". Los Angeles: *African Arts*, v.39, n.1, 2006, p.14.

1.2 Unpacking 'decolonisation'

If there can be any consensus on 'decolonisation', it has to be that the term is a floating signifier that has proved to be remarkably resilient and flexible. Seemingly eclipsed, rendered irrelevant even, by the rise of postcolonial studies in the 1980s and 1990s,[84] the rallying call of decolonisation has returned with a vengeance within student movements in recent years. Certainly, 'decolonisation' raises very different concerns for the new generation of student activists in South Africa, UK and the USA than it did for colonial administrators and anti-colonial activists in anglophone and francophone Africa in the 1950s and 1960s. And even within these historical 'camps' a wide range of understandings can be found.

1.2.1 Decolonisation and the transfer of power[85]

Hundreds of academic studies of decolonisation have been published, many on Africa. The majority are by historians whose primary focus has been on the processes leading to the political independence of formerly colonised territories. Most of these publications have been

---

[84] This is not to suggest that postcolonial theory began in the 1980s, rather that it became a recognised academic discourse at that time. As the editors of an influential volume put it, "post-colonial theory has existed for a long time before that particular name was used to describe it." B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths and H. Tiffin (eds), *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. London & New York: Routledge, 1995, p.1.

[85] Throughout this thesis I use the term 'transfer of power' in the limited sense in which it is customarily used, i.e. relating to the attainment of constitutional independence.

detailed studies aimed at explaining decolonisation in terms of challenges within the metropole.[86] On the other hand, nationalist accounts have privileged local events, notably the anti-colonial struggles.[87] While a third trend can be identified, that of situating decolonisation into international relations,[88] Le Sueuer maintains that: "Many scholars … have long since argued that colonial history in general and studies in decolonization in particular have generally been separated into two camps: the metropolitan transfer of power and the nationalist perspectives."[89]

For scholars who understand decolonisation as a synonym for the transfer of power, the analysis of this historical process is central. For such scholars, decolonisation becomes a temporal phenomenon, i.e. one that can be dated. For Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, "decolonization [of Africa] lasted seventy-two years",

---

[86] For an example of the metropolitan approach to studies of Portuguese decolonisation see N. MacQueen, *The Decolonization of Portuguese Africa: Metropolitan revolution and the dissolution of empire*. London & New York: Longman, 1997.

[87] For a critique of texts by John Saul and Joseph Hanlon, two international academics closely associated with nationalist perspectives on Mozambique, see A. Bragança and J. Depelchin, "From the Idealization of Frelimo to the Understanding of the Recent History of Mozambique". Harare: *African Journal of Political Economy*, n.1, 1986, pp.162-180.

[88] For the impact of the Cold war on decolonisation in Mozambique see W. Minter, *Portuguese Africa and the West*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972; and J.S. Saul, "Inside from the Outside? Mozambique's un/civil war", in T.M. Ali and R.O. Matthews (eds), *Civil Wars in Africa: Roots and Resolution*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1999, pp.123-166.

[89] J.D. Le Sueur, *The Decolonization Reader*. New York & London: Routledge, 2003, p.3.

i.e. from 1922-1994.[90] For philosopher Roy Fraser Holland, European decolonisation (of Asia and Africa) began in 1918, at the end of the Great War, and ended in 1981, the year after Zimbabwean independence.[91] As we saw earlier, for Enwezor's *Short Century*, the subtitle of the project locates decolonisation in Africa between 1945-1994.

These examples demonstrate that with colonialism commonly understood as a comparatively late historical phenomenon,[92] the beginnings of decolonisation tend to be attributed to fairly recent landmark events, either of international character (e.g. the World Wars that ended in 1918 and 1945) or associated with specific struggles for national liberation (e.g. political independence in Egypt, 1922; Zimbabwe, 1980; or the end of apartheid government in South Africa, 1994). While, of necessity, some analysis of the anti/colonial period forms part of this school of thought,[93] the postcolonial period is typically given short shrift. Le Seuer, for example, uses the term "historical postcolonialism" to define "the period following independence". Indeed, Le Seuer

---

[90] P.T. Zeleza, "The Historic and Humanistic Agendas of African Nationalism: A reassessment", in T. Falola and S. Hassan (eds), *Power and Nationalism in Modern Africa: Essays in honor of Don Ohadike*. Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2008, p.42.

[91] R.F. Holland, *European Decolonization, 1918-1981: An introductory survey*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1985.

[92] See, for instance, the charting of "phases of European Imperialism" in Rothermund op.cit. Pp.15-20.

[93] For example, the timelines in *The Short Century* begin with the Berlin Conference in 1884. Elsewhere, Okeke-Agulu acknowledges Edward Blyden (1832-1912) as one of the pioneers of the "rhetoric and ideologies of decolonization and nationalism", thereby indicating that the discourse of decolonisation can be traced to the late 19th and/or early 20th centuries. Okeke-Agulu, 2015, op.cit. P.2.

exemplifies the school that applies decolonisation in a limited sense, evident in his definition of decolonisation as "the *historical phase* that bridged the gap between colonial and postcolonial worlds."[94]

Historians Prosser Gifford and William Roger Louis, on the other hand, maintain that it is productive to distinguish decolonisation from the transfer of power. Since their emphasis is on the latter, they do not do a thorough job of enunciating the meaning of decolonisation once stripped of this aspect. But they do assert that decolonisation has meanings beyond the narrow definition applied by many historians. Gifford and Louis posit that: "The notion of decolonization … *can also* imply cultural and psychological freedom. It *can* include the liberation achieved by those who have found or rediscovered their true identity."[95] Their approach is significant, not only for enabling them to justify their focus on the aspects of decolonisation that preoccupy them, but also for their acknowledgment that restrictive uses of decolonisation do not do justice to its full discursive and existential potential.

1.2.2 Broadening the discursive base of 'decolonisation'

While many historians use decolonisation as a synonym for the transfer of power, and situate it within a linear process between the colonial and postcolonial, some writers adopt a more complex approach to decolonisation.

---

[94] Le Sueur op.cit. P.2 (emphasis added).

[95] P. Gifford and W.M.R. Louis, *Decolonization and African Independence: The Transfers of Power, 1960-1980*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1988, p.x (emphasis added).

These include scholars who recognise the *historical* character of decolonisation but also acknowledge its multi-faceted nature. In doing so, scholars such as Prasenjit Duara, Jan Nederveen Pieterse and Bhikhu Parekh not only broaden the uses of the term; they introduce porous borders that render their definitions more open than the 'transfer of power' school. For instance, Duara articulates three critical, inter-related dimensions of decolonisation:

> *"decolonization refers to the process whereby colonial powers transferred institutional and legal control over their territories and dependencies to indigenously based, formally sovereign, nation-states … decolonization represented not only the transference of legal sovereignty, but a movement for moral justice and political solidarity against imperialism. It thus refers both to the anti-imperialist movement and to an emancipatory ideology which sought or claimed to liberate the nation and humanity itself."*[96]

Duara's formulation captures key tensions in attempting to fix the meaning of decolonisation. On one hand it is revealing that he defines decolonisation in the past, evident in his use of the past tense ("represented … sought or claimed"). However, for anyone who remains committed to the values and ideals espoused in his definition, his reference to an "emancipatory ideology" implicitly raises the spectre of an *unfinished* project. This tension is more explicitly articulated in his

[96] P. Duara (ed), *Decolonization: Perspectives from now and then*. London & New York: Routledge, 2004, p.2 (emphasis added).

statement that: "The era of decolonization may be over, but the pains of that transition have found their way into the new era of globalization."[97] What are these pains? Are they the residual trauma of a battle that has taken place (in the 'past'), or are they symptomatic of deferred, unrequited promise (to be realised in the future)? Certainly, it is the *unresolved outcomes* or *unfulfilled visions* of decolonisation that lead some commentators to challenge the conventional binary between colonialism and postcolonialism.[98]

Even if one accepts that Duara's positioning of decolonisation as having been superceded by the "new era of globalization" renders it a phenomenon of the past, his emphasis on decolonisation as a *process*, *movement* and *ideology* extends the horizons of a closed view of decolonisation. Significantly, he is saying that the movement and ideology of decolonisation resonated beyond the direct interests of newly sovereign nation-states to the world at large ("humanity"). Decolonisation was (or still is) transnational, a "movement for moral justice and political solidarity against imperialism." Equally importantly, by locating colonialism as part of a longer subjugating history of exploitation ("imperialism"), and asserting its identity as an "emancipatory ideology",

---

[97] Ibid. P.17.

[98] As Falola puts it, "independence [is] not yet attained". Falola and Hassan op.cit. In a similar vein the Comaroffs assert that "Colonialism is still very much with us." Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Volume Two*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1997, p.13. For Le Sueur the continuity is explained as the "echo factor". He maintains that, "the trauma and the burdens of colonial relations between the colonizer and the colonized as well as the after effects of anticolonial violence continue to echo…" Le Sueur op.cit. P.4.

Duara, in effect if not in intention, ruptures the tight temporal framings evident in closed definitions of decolonisation.

Like Duara, Pieterse and Parekh introduce a multi-layered perspective of decolonisation that bridges closed (past, political) definitions and an expansive, more open use of the term. They understand 'decolonisation' "both in a historical and in a wider *metaphorical* sense."[99] According to their formulation:

> *"In the historical sense, it refers to the momentum of political decolonization, a process that has largely been completed. In an economic sense it has been on the agenda for almost as long, under the blanket heading of 'development'. A process of intellectual decolonization has also been under way, in the sense that critical perspectives on colonialism have become more and more common, also in the West."*[100]

The introduction of questions of the *economy* was a critical element in the critiques of neo-colonialism that were closely imbricated in the decolonisation discourse of the 1960s. Influential texts from, notably, Kwame Nkrumah[101] and Walter Rodney,[102] highlighted the imperative

---

[99] J.N. Pieterse and B. Parekh, *The Decolonization of Imagination: Culture, knowledge and power.* London: Zed Books, 1995, p.3 (emphasis added).

[100] Ibid.

[101] K. Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism: The last stage of Imperialism.* London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1965.

[102] W. Rodney, *How Europe Under-Developed Africa.* London: Bogle l'Ouverture Publications & Dar es Salam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1972.

of economic liberation for meaningful 'independence'. Alongside these critiques of neo-colonialism and under-development went arguments for pan-African unity and self-reliance by leaders such as Nkrumah and Julius Kambarage Nyerere,[103] as well as seminal texts on psychological and mental emancipation penned by leading political and public figures like Fanon,[104] Ngugi,[105] Nkrumah,[106] Amilcar Cabral[107] and other leading African intellectuals.[108] Accordingly, what Pieterse and Parekh are formulating in their broader, revisionist definition of decolonisation is arguably only a reflection of the spectrum of decolonial discourse that proliferated during what Le Seuer calls "historical postcolonialism", and what Pieterse and Parekh term "internal

---

[103] J.K. Nyerere, *Education for Self-Reliance*. Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967.

[104] F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press, 1963 [original French version published 1961]; and F. Fanon, *Black Skin White Masks*. New York: Grove Press, 1967 [original French version 1952].

[105] Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind: The politics of language in African literature*. London: James Currey and Nairobi: Heinemann Educational, 1985.

[106] K. Nkrumah, *Consciencism: Philosophy and ideology for de-colonization*. London: Heinemann, 1964.

[107] Amilcar Cabral, "The Weapon of Theory: Address delivered to the First Tricontinental Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America held in Havana in January 1966", in A. Cabral, *Unity and Struggle: Speeches and Writings of Amilcar Cabral*. Pretoria: Unisa Press & Hollywood: Tsehai, 2008 [first published by Monthly Review Press, 1979].

[108] See the emphasis on mental emancipation in the cultural policy for Guinea developed under Sekou Toure's leadership. Guinea [The Ministry of Education and Culture under the auspices of the Guinean National Commission for Unesco], *Cultural policy in the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea*. Paris: Unesco, 1979. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0003/000359/035975eo.pdf

decolonization".[109] Notably, unlike Duara, Pieterse and Parekh use an ambiguous tense, bordering on the present, when they refer to economic and intellectual decolonisation. Indeed, the idea that decolonisation extends to "critical perspectives on colonialism" written in the West is generally associated with postcolonial studies.[110]

"Internal decolonisation", for Pieterse and Parekh, accounts for the frequent post-independence contestations and conflicts. They explain this phase, which they situate between (political) decolonisation and postcoloniality, by noting that: "Social forces who earlier followed the nationalist flag, or whose voice was not registered in the anti-colonialist confrontations, may challenge the nationalist project in the name of class, gender, ethnicity, region or religion."[111] This formulation is critical because it acknowledges that decolonisation can adopt a post-independence agenda that departs significantly from the "nationalist project" that most definitions assume to be the primary object of decolonisation.

---

[109] Pieterse and Parekh maintain that "in the engagement with colonial imaginaries we can identify several episodes and currents: decolonization, internal decolonization and postcoloniality. In a schematic sense, these represent the mainstream pattern of decolonization". Pieterse and Parekh op.cit. P.6.

[110] Gaurav Desai and Supriya Nair identify the re-reading of the colonial canon as one of the main orientations of potcolonial studies (the other being an emphasis on the "cultural production of the colonized subjects and their postcolonial inheritors."). G. Desai and S. Nair (eds), *Postcolonialisms: An anthology of cultural theory and criticism*. Oxford: Berg, 2005, pp.3-4.

[111] Pieterse and Parekh op.cit. P.7.

Duara's reference to ideology, and Pieterse and Parekh's Identification of "intellectual decolonization" brings one to the threshold of what traditional historians, political scientists and economists may regard as 'soft' forms of decolonisation, encapsulated within that other supremely floating signifier, 'culture'.

1.2.3 Cultural decolonisation

According to Fanon: "A national culture is the whole body of efforts made by a people in the sphere of thought to describe, justify, and praise the action through which that people has created itself and keeps itself in existence."[112] This formulation explicitly links culture to intellectual output ("efforts … in the sphere of thought") of an imagined community ("a people") in the struggle for self-determination.

Similarly, for Cabral, culture was linked directly to popular struggle. He asserted that "culture has a mass character",[113] that "society is the bearer and the creator of culture",[114] and that culture is the "fruit of history [that] reflects at all times the material and spiritual reality of the society, of man-the-individual and man-the-social-being".[115]

---

[112] Fanon, 1963, op.cit. P.233.

[113] Cabral, 1979, op.cit. P.144.

[114] Ibid. P.143.

[115] Ibid. P.149. In contrast to Cabral's measured attempt to find balance between the needs of the individual and society at large, consider the extreme formulation in Guinea's cultural policy: "[The cultural revolution] seeks the total eradication of the individualistic approach in all spheres and the absolute triumph of the 'mass' approach on all fronts." Guinea op.cit. P.33.

These formulations should be understood not as 'soft' contributions to struggles for liberation but rather as fundamentally decolonial responses to histories of western imperialism and colonialism. These ideas circulated widely in revolutionary environments, and were influential in shaping ideological alternatives to the model of High Culture that had been introduced by occupying powers in the name of Civilisation. Culture, in the European discourse of Civilisation, was both racist (Europeans had it, Africans, Asians and others didn't) and elitist (the domain of ruling classes).[116] Thus, the project of affirming African civilisation and culture (exemplified by the work of Cheikh Anta Diop[117]) was inherently political, as was the act of stressing the mass, democratic character of culture, evident in the quotes from Fanon and Cabral.

Pieterse and Parekh remind us that many anti-colonial movements had cultural roots: "Often the first nuclei of what were to become movements for national independence were movements we would now term cultural".[118] They cite

---

[116] Postcolonial Guinea's policy for a "socialist cultural revolution" explicitly stated that: "It is a 'mass' revolution. It involves the mobilization of the entire people. It uses a 'mass' approach diametrically opposed to the 'élite' approach." Ibid. P.31. Within the Western world, sociologists such as Raymond Williams distinguished between ruling class and working class culture, evidencing an ideological struggle for 'culture'. See "Culture is Ordinary [1958]", in R. Williams, *Resources of Hope: Culture, democracy, socialism*. London: Verso, 1989, pp.3-14.

[117] C.A. Diop, *The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or reality*. New York & Westport: Lawrence Hill & Co., 1974 [originally published in French by *Presence Africaine*, 1955].

[118] See also the bold assertion that "Resistance and offensive are organized first and foremost in the field of culture." Guinea op.cit. P.72.

the examples of religion, "a major ground for popular mobilization" and that of Pan-Africanism and Pan-Arabism, stating that, "the 'Pan-' movements of the turn of the century … were avowedly 'cultural', sometimes with religious, at other times with biological-racist, overtones".[119]

From this formulation by Pieterse and Parekh we can deduce that religion and race (or their associates, ethnicity and tribalism) play an important role in the cultural politics of decolonisation. According to Pieterse and Parekh: "The common denominator is the mobilization of the cultural resources of civilizational areas, supplementing, amplifying and superseding nationalism".[120] They distinguish two contrary approaches. One being the "logic of nativism" whereby a sharp distinction is drawn between coloniser and colonised, indigene and settler. For evidence of this trend they cite the examples of "discourses of authenticity, *Africanite* and Afrocentrism". Contrary to this trend, they note "counter discourses for syncretism", which they define, narrowly, as "some form of synthesis between Western and local culture."[121]

Examples such as Amin's Uganda, where Asians were expelled, and Mobutu's Africanisation of cultural symbols

---

[119] Pieterse and Parekh op.cit. Pp.6-7.

[120] Ibid. P.7.

[121] Ibid. Pp.8-9. In contrast, consider the model of syncretism promulgated by Blyden, Nkrumah and Mazrui, where Islamic culture is an important element. See Alamin Mazrui "Ali Mazrui and the Triple Heritage: A contextual essay", in A.M. Mazrui and W. Mutunga (eds), *Debating the African Condition: Race, gender and culture conflict. Ali Mazrui and his critics (Vol. 1).* Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2003, pp.21-26.

in the Belgian Congo/Zaire,[122] illustrate what Pieterse and Parekh term "nativist logic". However, the relationship between nativism and syncretism is not always clear-cut. Formulations of cultural policy and their implementation are often complex and contradictory, revealing internal tensions as well as pragmatic and opportunistic political responses to cultural capital. For instance, under Sekou Toure's leadership, a nationalist, self-proclaimed "socialist cultural revolution" propagated the development of an "authentically African, progressive, people's culture … in which people regard themselves first and foremost as Guinean citizens, for whom considerations of tribe or race are of little importance."[123] This policy, officially identified as *authenticite,* led to the systematic destruction of ethnically located masks and objects which, it can be surmised, were not "progressive" in Toure's view. On the other hand, in the field of music, Toure's government supported orchestras that utilised western instruments and made music with strong Cuban influences, garnished with lyrics that glorified the new nation state.[124] In other words, both anti-tribalism and cosmopolitan syncretism were core elements of what Pieterse and Parekh identify as a nativist movement. Similarly, while Negritude is often linked to Black Consciousness, which may imply a nativist slant, under

[122] For example, the renaming of places (including the country), Africanisation of personal names, and ban on western style clothing.

[123] Guinea op.cit. Pp.72-73.

[124] G. Counsel, "Authenticite", in *Authenticite: The Syllophone Years. Guinea's Orchestres Nationaux and Federaux 1965-1980*, double CD issued by Sterns Music, 2007 [booklet].

Senghor's leadership Negritude in Senegal relied heavily on the assimilation of western cultural elements.[125]

While distinctions between nativism and syncretism are sometimes less than clear, what *is* clear is that, both in mobilising resistance to colonialism and in enunciating visions for newly independent nations, cultural questions often took centre stage. Whereas cultural decolonisation arose as an area of concern in the midst of anti-colonial struggles for independence, it consolidated its relevance as an integral feature of post-independence struggles to build new societies.[126] Within the discourses of cultural decolonisation, there is often a shift from understanding and rejecting the cultural dimensions of colonialism towards a focus on developing a new national identity. National identity, in many instances, is principally concerned with the new nation-state, but, as will be elaborated below, nationalism has sometimes been articulated in broader transnational or international imaginaries, as well as in more narrow ethnic terms. These divergences from nation-state nationalism can be understood as forms of cultural nationalism.[127]

---

[125] See 2.2.3.

[126] For example, in 1967 Guinea embarked on "the cultural phase of the socialist revolution". According to an official document, issued twelve years later: "The cultural revolution is very much concerned with liberation and change. It creates a new nature of things, a new ethics, a new type of man." Guinea op.cit. Pp.31-32.

[127] Prominent examples include internationalist political and cultural imaginaries such as Pan-Africanism, Pan-Arabism, the Islamic nation (*ummah)*, and the "Black Nation". Ethnic, transnational identities such as Yoruba provide another example.

Howsoever culture has been understood, there is no doubt that cultural discourses were contemporaneously identified as part of broad processes of decolonisation. In post-independence settings where the urgency for political decolonisation had receded, economic decolonisation and cultural decolonisation have often taken precedence. It therefore appears anachronistic, ahistorical even, for historians to declare decolonisation 'over' at the point of the transfer of power.

Despite the prevalence of cultural decolonisation as a critical discourse in post-independence periods, Pieterse and Parekh claim that: "It is only in recent years that cultural decolonization has been recognized as a concern".[128] However,as early as 1956, Thomas Hodgkin, in discussing the role of cities in the formation of African nationalisms, noted that, "the European cultural revolution has begun to be opposed by an African cultural counter-revolution."[129] In other words, culture as integral to nationalist resistance received attention by presciently minded historians like Hodgkin over sixty years ago. Even Le Seuer, who applied a conservative approach to decolonisation, conceded that: "At the very least, concerns raised by cultural theorists have fostered an appreciation of questions that had not been considered by the two dominant traditions [the metropole and the nationalist perspectives on the transfer of power]. Issues of identity, mimicry, and representation

[128] Pieterse and Parekh op.cit. Pp.3-4.

[129] T. Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*. New York: New York University Press, 1971, p.82 [originally published in 1956 by Frederick Muller Ltd., Great Britain].

have all taken more prominent places in the study of decolonization – even by mainstream historians today."[130]

Nonetheless, even if we accept the position confidently asserted by the Comaroffs that: "[Colonialism] was as much a cultural as a political or economic encounter",[131] it is also clear that much of the discourse on cultural decolonisation was (is) primarily concerned with broader questions of ideology and identity. With few notable exceptions, such as Nkrumah,[132] few of the foundational decolonial ideologues have had much to say about the arts, less so the visual arts.[133] Even more recent inter-disciplinary anthologies offer little direct commentary on the arts. In *The Decolonization Reader*, Le Sueur (2003) places "culture and contests" as one of "the

---

[130] Le Sueur op.cit. P.4. See Dane Kennedy's remark that: "[Postcolonial theory] has made clear that any assessment of this interaction which ignores the cultural dimension – that is, the realm of mutual representations of the self and the other – is one that misses what may well be the most persistent and profound legacy of the imperial experience." D. Kennedy, "Imperial history and post-colonial theory", in Le Sueur op.cit. P.20.

[131] Comaroff and Comaroff op.cit. P.16.

[132] For Nkrumah's cultural policies, and their imbrication in his politics, and in particular his approach to theatre and establishment of arts institutions, see K. Botwe-Asamoah, *Kwame Nkrumah's Politico-Cultural Thought and Policies.* New York & London: Routledge, 2005.

[133] Cabral, for example, makes few direct references to art, and these are general. Examples include his statements that "the culture of African peoples is an undeniable fact: in works of art as in oral and written traditions" and that "The aims of cultural resistance [include development, on the basis of a critical assimilation of mankind's conquests in the domains of art, science, literature, etc., of a *universal culture,* aiming at perfect integration in the contemporary world and its prospects for evolution." Amilcar Cabral, op.cit. Pp.148,153 (emphasis added).

[eight] salient themes of decolonization".[134] He assigns chapters to each of these themes, with the cultural chapter comprising essays on alcohol, football and leisure. Pieterse and Parekh's *The Decolonization of Imagination: Culture, Knowledge and Power* (1995) contains thirteen essays, none of which directly address any of the arts. The publication of a manifesto on decolonial aesthetics by the Transnational Decolonial Institute, where "decolonial aesthetics refers to ongoing artistic projects responding and delinking from the darker side of imperial globalization", may suggest a breakthrough at this juncture,[135] although it does not appear to be grounded in a historical analysis of artists' responses to decolonisation. In addition, the manifesto hinges on a rebuttal of traditional, neo-Kantian aesthetics, a hegemony that has long been unsettled, even within western art.[136]

In concluding this section, it should be noted that none of the literature on cultural decolonisation offers a ready-made framework to apply to the visual arts. What it does offer is broad concepts that are relevant for the

---

[134] Le Sueur, op.cit. P.5.

[135] A. Lockward, R. Vazquez, T.M.D. Nerio, et al. "Decolonial Aesthetics (I)". Online: *TDI*, 2011, https://transnationaldecolonialinstitute.wordpress.com/decolonial-aesthetics/

[136] Marxist, Dadaist, conceptual, feminist, black arts, and various social art movements have long challenged the neo-Kantian views of art as universal beauty and essential truth. Mignolo acknowledges aesthetics as a late intervention in the work of Latin American decolonial theorists. A. Diallo, "In Conversation with Walter Mignolo: 'Decolonial aesthetics/aesthesis has become a connector across the continents'". Online: *C& America Latina*, 2018, http://amlatina.contemporaryand.com/editorial/argentine-semiotician-walter-mignolo/

visual arts, such as nativism, syncretism, and national identity.

1.2.4 Decolonisation and nationalism/s

The conflation of decolonisation with the transfer of power is invariably accompanied by the application of the term "nationalism" as a synonym for the nation-state. Consequently, nationalism itself is sometimes conflated with decolonisation. This explains why Okeke-Agulu, whose book purports to address "art and decolonization" [of twentieth century Nigeria] can, in one instance, declare that "the book's point[is] that the *conjunction of art and nationalist ideology* is an important characterization of postcolonial modernism …",[137] and elsewhere refer to his book as "this study of the *conjunction of art and the politics of decolonisatio*n".[138] While this suggests that, for Okeke-Agulu, nationalist ideology and the politics of decolonisation are one and the same thing, elsewhere he implies a distinction when he refers to the "rhetoric and ideologies of decolonization and nationalism".[139]

Contrary to the conflation of nation-state nationalism and decolonisation, Frederick Cooper has pointed out that other visions of decolonisation existed during the anti-colonial struggle but were excluded from the realm of the possible in the latter half of the 1950s. He writes:

> *"French and British governments [and] African movements and leaders ... ended up defining a certain kind of decolonization, one which opened up*

[137] Okeke-Agulu, 2015, op.cit. P.2.

[138] Ibid. Pp.12-13 (emphasis added).

[139] Ibid. P.2.

some political possibilities and shut down others. Supra-national possibilities – federations of more than one territory, and Pan-Africanist imaginings – were excluded from the political map."[140]

Hodgkin, writing on the eve of the political decolonisations of the late 1950s and early 1960s, argued for a broad definition of the term 'nationalist':

"to describe any organisation or group that explicitly asserts the rights, claims and aspirations of a given African society (from the level of the language-group to that of 'Pan-Africa") in opposition to European authority, whatever its institutional form or objectives."[141]

Hodgkin offers his broad definition of nationalism in opposition to its more restrictive use as used by Coleman in *Nationalism in Tropical Africa* (1956) where nationalism is used:

"to describe only those types of organisation which are essentially political, not religious, economic or educational, in character, and which have as their object the realisation of self-government or

---

[140] F. Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The past of the present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p.66. Elsewhere Cooper makes similar remarks, "Pan-Africanism – embracing the diaspora as well as the continent - had once been the focus of imagination more than the units that eventually became states, but pan-Africanist possibilities were written out of the decolonization bargains." F. Cooper, "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking colonial African history", in Le Sueur op.cit. P.35.

[141] Hodgkin op.cit. P.23.

independence for a recognisable African nation, or nation-to-be ('Ghana', Nigeria, Kamerun, Uganda)."[142]

Hodgkin counters Balandier's claim that a broad definition of nationalism represents a "kind of a misuse of terms"[143] by highlighting "the 'mixed-up' character of African political movements. He points out that:

> *"In a single African territory it is possible to find coexisting a diversity of organisations, of different types, with different objectives, operating at different levels, each in its own way expressing opposition to European control and a demand for new liberties; and to discover a network of relationships between these organisations...* [he goes on to give examples from Nigeria, citing specific political, religious, ethnic, and trade union bodies]. *Most of these various types of organisation possessed links, formal or informal, with one another. Many of them were not concerned, overtly or primarily, with achieving political independence or stimulating a sense of Nigerian nationhood. None the less they were all, in one sense, variations on a single theme; intelligible only in relation to a single historical process, of nationalist awakening, to which they all belonged."*[144]

More recently, Zeleza reminds us that:

---

[142] Ibid.

[143] Ibid. P.24.

[144] Ibid. Pp.24-25.

> *"the spatial and social locus of the 'nation' imagined by the nationalists was fluid. It could entail the expansive visions of Pan-African liberation and integration, territorial nation building, or the invocation of ethnic identities. Secular and religious visions also competed for ascendency. Some nationalists wanted the future political kingdom to follow the edicts of Islam, others preferred capitalism stripped of its colonial associations, and yet others professed various socialisms – Marxist, African, or Arab socialism."*[145]

Zeleza's differentiation of nationalist imaginaries provides further evidence of the multiplicity of interests that newly emergent nation-state sometimes inherit.

One end of the range of nationalisms is what Duara calls "ethno-nationalisms".[146] These can be transnational, although more commonly they are located historically within single nation-states, as evidenced in Cooper's use of the term "sub-national" to refer to "linguistic and ethnic groups".[147] Ethno-nationalisms are perhaps the form most feared by nation-states, as they are frequently associated with postcolonial secessionist movements, a programme that is commonly viewed as treasonous by national governments.

The importance in opening up the discourse on forms of nationalism will become evident in the following chapter, where the aesthetic responses of decolonial artists is

---

[145] Zeleza op.cit. P.41.

[146] Duara op.cit. P.17.

[147] Cooper, 2003, op.cit. P.36.

foregrounded, and where competing notions of the nation occupy a central position.

1.2.5 Decolonisation and Mozambique

The concept of "late decolonisations" that is often applied to lusophone African countries has the effect of positioning these countries outside of the main currents of decolonisation. In extreme cases lusophone Africa is written out of the script completely.[148] It can also be observed that Mozambique's experiences of decolonisation are often clouded in other discourses: that of the Cold War; the revolutionary project to build a New Society; and the War of Destabilisation/ Civil War.

Mozambique's struggle for national liberation was fought against the backdrop of the Cold War, as was the destabilisation of Southern Africa by the apartheid regime. In the anti/colonial period, the leading western powers propped up Portuguese Africa. In the post-independence period their armed proxy Renamo was repurposed from its Rhodesian origins into an agent of the apartheid regime. These aggressive acts are generally seen in the context of the Cold War chessboard. In their

[148] In their call for papers for a conference on "The Cultures of Decolonisation" the convenors specifically excluded any decolonisations after 1970. While arguments for historically situated studies are valid, the inadvertent effect is to make some decolonisations more visible than others. See R. Craggs and C. Wintle, *Cultures of Decolonisation: Transnational productions and practices, 1945-70*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016. Note also Okeke-Agulu's astonishing claim that "the final waves of decolonization blew over the world in the mid-twentieth century". Okeke-Agulu, 2015, op.cit. P.12.

efforts to derail the liberation and independence of the Mozambican nationalist movement, both these wars can be read as wars *against* decolonisation. From the African nationalist perspective, they can be read as wars *for* decolonisation. The entanglement of decolonisation with the Cold War is such that the two were mutually constitutive. It is no accident that Renamo could not sustain its military campaign after the Cold War ended, nor that Frelimo's revolutionary programme to build a New Society died with the Cold War. To consider the ways in which the nationalist struggle self-identified as a decolonial project, one need only to revisit Frelimo texts from the period.

Aquino de Bragança's seminal account of the crucial period between the military and political coup in Portugal (24 April 1974) and the declaration of Mozambican independence (25 June 1975) is instructive of Frelimo's radical approach to decolonisation. De Bragança, a prominent intellectual within Frelimo's ranks, titled his paper "Independence *without* Decolonisation".[149] At a glance, de Bragança's focus on the historical process of the transfer of power, and his particular interest in dissecting the delicate balance of power prevailing in the metropole, suggests concordance with restrictive views of decolonisation.[150] However, what

[149] Initially presented at a seminar in Harare, January, 1985, the posthumous published version includes introductory notes from historian Basil Davidson. See A. de Bragança with B. Davidson, "Independence without Decolonization, Mozambique, 1974-1975", in Gifford and Louis op.cit. Pp.427-443 (emphasis added).

[150] See for example, reference to the "decolonization talks" during "the final phase of [Frelimo's] struggle to conquer the [colonial] state" in J.H. Mittelman, *Underdevelopment and the Transition to*

becomes clear is that for de Bragança and Frelimo, having learned from earlier processes of decolonisation in Africa and elsewhere, 'decolonisation' had become synonymous with neo-colonialism. Independence *with* decolonisation, in this view, would not have meant independence at all. Key to the formulation of this position was Frelimo's rejection of General Spinola's grand plan to establish a Luso-African federation centred in Lisbon, and Frelimo's steadfast refusal to make concessions that would weaken their position.[151]

Consistent with the position on decolonisation enunciated by de Bragança, President Samora Machel, at the investure of the Transitional Government in 1974, categorically rejected the idea of decolonisation as being equivalent to the transfer of power:

> *"Decolonization does not mean the geographical transfer of the decision-making centers from Lisbon to Lourenço Marques, which the deposed regime was in fact already proposing to do, and neither is it the continuation of the oppressive regime, this time with black-skinned rulers, which is the neo-colonial pattern. To decolonize the State means essentially to dismantle the political, administrative, cultural, financial, economic, educational,*

Socialism: Mozambique and Tanzania. New York, London, Toronto, Sydney, San Francisco: Academic Press, 1981, p.7.

[151] Notably this entailed rejecting Spinola's insistence on a ceasefire as a prerequisite for negotiations, until Portugal conceded that the goal of negotiations was self-determination. In addition, as the sole liberation movement Frelimo rejected efforts to dilute its position by accommodating what, in its analysis, represented proxies of colonial power. See de Bragança op.cit. Pp.435-436.

juridicial and other systems which, as an integral part of the colonial state, were solely designed to impose foreign domination and the will of the exploiters on the masses."[152]

What is clear from Machel's statement is that decolonisation in Mozambique was conceived of as an integral part of a radical *post*colonial programme driven by the new State. Second, that decolonisation was a wide-ranging programme that addressed all aspects of society. As Machel stressed in the same speech, the challenges were multi-dimensional: "We have inherited a difficult and serious social, economic, financial and cultural situation …".[153]

It is critical to recognise that Machel's insistence on dismantling colonial systems was not seen to be an end in itself. Even when in the midst of a guerrilla war, Frelimo had recognised that the destruction of colonialism had to be accompanied with a vision of the future. Eduardo Mondlane, Frelimo's founding president, quoting Frelimo's Central Committee, maintained that: "The purpose of our struggle is not only to destroy. It is first and foremost aimed a building a new Mozambique".[154]

---

[152] G.M. Houser and H. Shore, *Mozambique: Dream the size of freedom*. New York: Africa Fund, 1975, p.64.

[153] President Machel's speech to the Mozambican people on the investiture of the Transitional Government, 20 September 1974, cited by Houser and Shore op.cit. P.62.

[154] Message of the Central Committee to the Mozambican people for 25 September 1967, cited by Frelimo's President Eduardo Mondlane in E. Mondlane, *The Struggle for Mozambique*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969, p.163.

Key to this idea of a new Mozambique was the related concepts of the New Man and New Society. This vision was enunciated by Machel on 20 September 1974, when he declared that, "we are engaged in a Revolution whose advance depends on the creation of the new man, with a new mentality."[155] Machel advocated:

> *"a Mozambican personality which, without subservience of any kind and steeped in our own realities, will be able, in contact with the outside world, to assimilate critically the ideas and experiences of other peoples, also passing on to them the fruits of our thought and practice."*[156]

The concept of a Mozambican personality, which one can assume was in part informed by Nkrumah's advocation of an African personality, affirmed the nationalist objectives of Frelimo. Here the political objectives of Frelimo departed from those of a pan-African ideologue such as Nkrumah. For Frelimo self-determination as the Mozambican people came first, although this was allied to an internationalist socialist struggle.

Fundamental to Frelimo's conception of the New Man and the New Society was the eradication of racism, tribalism, and regionalism. Mondlane had highlighted oppressive aspects of traditional culture and under his leadership in 1966 the Central Committee stated that, "the battle against tribalism and regionalism is as important as the battle against colonialism".[157] Machel took this further, with his stigmatisation of what he termed

---

[155] Houser and Shore op.cit. P.5.

[156] Ibid. P.53.

[157] Mondlane op.cit. P.164.

'obscurantism'.[158] Mondlane had criticised oppressive, feudal aspects of traditional culture,[159] and Machel railed against "the dead weight of superstition and dogmatic tradition."[160]

Decolonisation in Mozambique was closely allied with the revolutionary programme of Frelimo. With Mozambique joining the International Monetory Fund (IMF) and World Bank in 1984; Frelimo abandoning Marxism-Leninism in 1989; a new constitution being adopted in 1990; and multi-party elections held in 1994; it is generally accepted that the revolutionary project was replaced by neo-liberalism in the 1980s. Consistent with that observation, it can be argued that these developments saw the end of decolonisation.

Dating the inception of decolonisation is less straightforward. For Frelimo, the project of building a new society began during the guerilla war. José Luís Cabaço, a prominent member of Frelimo,[161] asserts that it was in the Frelimo camp at Nachingwea, Tanzania, that the New Man took shape.[162] This is consistent with the view espoused by Mondlane that: "[The construction of a new

---

[158] The battle against obscurantism was written into Article 15 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Mozambique. See *Mozambique Revolution*, n.61, "Independence Issue". Lourenço Marques: Department of Information-Frelimo, 1975, p.24. https://freedomarchives.org/Documents/Finder/DOC50_scans/50.mozambique.independence1975.pdf.pdf

[159] Mondlane op.cit. P.164.

[160] Houser and Shore op.cit. P.53.

[161] Cabaço, a sociologist, served as a Minister in Frelimo's government between 1975 and 1986 (initially as Minister of Transport and Communication, and later as Minister of Information).

[162] J.L. Cabaço, *Moçambique: Identitades, colonialism e libertação*. São Paulo: Editora Unesp/ANPOCS, 2009, p.286.

country] must be undertaken even while the colonial state is in the process of being destroyed."[163]

In discussing Mozambican decolonisation one can justifiably place emphasis on Frelimo's centrality to this process, tempered with awareness that decolonisation's roots precede the formation of Frelimo. Frelimo built on a history of anti-colonial resistance, military and cultural. As an intellectual phenomenon, decolonisation's roots can be traced back to the nationalist conciousness articulated by Mozambique's most celebrated poet José Craveirinha in the fifties,[164] if not by others earlier.

Similarly, some caution should be exercised in dating the termination of Mozambican decolonisation. Certainly, one can pursue an analysis of the collapsed revolutionary project, in the manner that John Saul speaks of the "recolonization of Southern Africa".[165] However, as the recent resurgence of a decolonial discourse in South Africa demonstrates, it would be precipitious to declare

---

[163] Mondlane op.cit. P.163.

[164] F. Mendonça, "O Conceito de Nação em José Craveirinha, Rui Knopfli e Sérgio Vieira". São Paulo: *Via Atlantica,* n.5, 2002, pp. 53-55. An influential paper that was first presented at a literary colloquium in Lisbon, 1984; subsequently made accessible to a Mozambican audience through publication in the popular magazine *Tempo*, 1986 (7, 14, and 21 April); and then in F. Mendonça, *Literatura Moçambicana: a história e as escritas*. Maputo: Faculdade de Letras/Núcleo Editorial da UEM, 1989.

[165] J.S. Saul, "The Strange Death of Liberated Southern Africa". Paper presented to a seminar jointly sponsored by the UKZN's Centre for Civil Society and the Department of Political Science at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, April 3, 2007. Online: http://ccs.ukzn.ac.za/files/saul%20the%20Strange%20Death%20of%20Liberated%20Southern%20Africa.pdf

Frelimo's capitulation to capitalism in the 1980s as the end of decolonisation. It was certainly the end of an era, but at the same time it is not inconceivable that a new generation of Mozambican activists critical of Mozambique's failed revolution could come to the fore, and in such a hypothetical scenario it is highly probable that decolonial discourse would experience a revival.[166]

The point in highlighting questions of the temporal framing of Mozambican decolonisation is to quash the temptation of framing questions around Malangatana and decolonisation within the timeframe of Frelimo's revolutionary project. As this thesis aims to demonstrate, questions of Malangatana's decolonial agency precede the formation of Frelimo in 1964, and extend beyond Frelimo's embrace of neo-liberalism in the 1980s.

To reiterate a point, raised earlier in the discussion on forms of decolonisation and the frequently cultural roots of nationalist movements, it becomes cogent to position Malangatana within a long history of culture as a site of ideological struggle. Indeed, the central position of cultural issues in the Mozambican discourse on decolonisation can be traced back to the colonial model of assimilation propagated by the Portuguese. For Mozambique, culture was central to the colonial regime. Portugal purported to practice non-racialism, in the form of its policy on assimilation. In theory, black

[166] De Souto points to Machel's legacy being erased in the Chissano years, before a resurgence of popular support forced the new Frelimo leadership to revive him, but as a symbol stripped of content. A. Neves de Souto, "Memory and Identity in the History of Frelimo: Some Research Themes". Cape Town: *Kronos*, v.39, n.1, 2013, p.292.

Mozambicans could attain equal rights, if they were civilised in Portuguese terms. Houser and Shore remind us that: "Culture, rather than color as such, was put forward as the determining basis for the rights and status of individuals."[167] In his book, *The Struggle for Mozambique*, Mondlane addresses this foundational colonial myth of non-racialism, showing how few Mozambicans met Portuguese criteria for assimilation, and how even these 'citizens' were denied equal rights.[168]

It thus follows that much of the early resistance to Portuguese rule occurred in the field of culture. Houser and Shore maintain that there were three forms of resistance: cultural, political and military, and that: "Most often, it was all of these combined."[169] It can be observed that Frelimo, in its initial formative period when it was largely a movement of intellectuals, drew substantially on the networks that had been created by the Núcleo dos Estudantes Africanos Secondarios de Moçambique, a student movement formed in 1949 under the leadership of Mondlane, and which was initially established "[u]nder the guise of social and cultural activities".[170] Unsurprisingly, NESAM was banned in 1964, the year Frelimo was formed.

It is also widely acknowledged that nationalist resistance was a core element in the arts, particularly

---

[167] Houser and Shore op.cit. P.13.

[168] Mondlane op.cit. Pp.48-50.

[169] Houser and Shore op.cit. P.5. In a similar vein Albie Sachs argues that in Mozambique "culture [w]as a central feature of national liberation". A. Sachs, "Introduction". In R. Bartlett (ed), *Short Stories from Mozambique*. Johannesburg: Cosaw Publishing, 1995, p.12.

[170] Ibid. P.18.

in literature. If the artistic practices of Craveirinha, the Makonde sculptors, Malangatana and others took place, in the main, outside of official programmes of Frelimo, one can also pick up that Frelimo valued cultural and artistic practices to the extent that they made time to reflect on it even in the midst of the armed struggle. Frelimo held what Houser and Shore describe as "an important cultural seminar" in December 1971 and January 1972, in Mozambique. Machel told delegates that "Mozambique's cultural wealth does not belong to any one region."[171] Different forms of culture were practiced across the country, but all were national patrimony. He also advocated a vision of revolutionary national culture that was a hybrid synthesis of the old and new:

> *"Let art seek to combine old form with new content, then giving rise to new form. Let painting, written literature, theatre and artistic handicrafts be added to the traditionally cultivated dance, sculpture and singing. Let the creativity of some become that of all, men and women, young and old, from the North to the South, so that the new revolutionary and Mozambican culture may be born of all."*[172]

It is important to grasp that this vision of imbuing "old form" with "new content" was largely based on an understanding that the "old" was part of the local traditional culture. This was not a reference to western conventions such as oil painting. Accordingly, in the early years following independence Malangatana (and his

[171] Ibid. P.56.

[172] Ibid.

supporters) had to fight for full acceptance of his chosen idiom, i.e. easel painting.[173]

This discussion on Mozambican decolonisation has sought to underline these main points:

i) The revolutionary project led by Frelimo was in essence a decolonial project, beginning in the anti-colonial struggle, and finding greatest impetus as a postcolonial project.

ii) Questions of culture were central to Mozambican decolonisation. Decolonial cultural resistance preceded the formation of Frelimo and extends beyond the collapse of Frelimo's revolutionary project.

These points provide a critical framework in which to analyse the decolonial agency of Malangatana.

1.2.6 Reviving decolonisation/s

At various points in this discussion I have referred to the practice of dating decolonisation. I have also referred to its resilience as a concept. Here I briefly

[173] In a detailed study of catalogue covers for official exhibitions during the revolutionary period, I found that wood sculpture was routinely preferred over paintings for covers, and I linked this to the legitimacy of carving because of its association with the genre of wood carving practiced by the Makonde. See M. Pissarra, "Of and Apart from the People: A close reading of representations of Malangatana in catalogues produced for group exhibitions in Mozambique, 1962-2011. Online: *Third Text Africa*, v.5, n.1, 2018, pp.50-71. http://asai.co.za/third-text-africa/

outline two decolonial movements that emerged long after historians had declared the end of decolonisation. It is not possible to do justice to these developments here, save to acknowledge some of the salient points that they introduce for purposes of this study.

1.2.6.1 The decolonial turn

The emergence of decolonial theory (or decolonial thinking) from Latin America, a continent officially colonised and decolonised long before Africa, is evidence of the ongoing global relevance of questions of decolonisation. Decolonial theory distinguishes between the historical fact of decolonisation and the lingering insistence of colonial epistemes that inform normative notions of modernity. This condition is termed coloniality, and the struggle to overcome it is referred to as decoloniality. Thus, for proponents of the decolonial turn there is a critical distinction between decolonisation and decoloniality.[174] Following initial attempts to elaborate decolonial aesthetics, this generation of thinkers has subsequently abandoned this term in favour of aesthesis which they define as "an unelaborated elementary awareness of stimulation".[175]

---

[174] See W. Mignolo, "Delinking: The rhetoric of modernity, the logic of coloniality and the grammar of de-coloniality". *Cultural Studies*, v.21, n.2-3, 2007, pp.449-514. My view of decolonisation as an ongoing process has led me to adopt a different approach. Hence, I have not pursued concepts of coloniality and decoloniality in this study.

[175] . See R. Vazquez and W. Mignolo, "Decolonial AestheSis: Colonial wounds/decolonial healings". Online: *Social Text*, July 15, 2013. https://socialtextjournal.org/periscope_article/decolonial-aesthesis-colonial-woundsdecolonial-healings/

The emphasis placed on challenging the hegemonic positions of the West in the production of knowledge and contingent privileging of local perspectives and interests brings their project into conversation with subaltern studies, particularly Dipesh Chakrabarty's notion of provincialising Europe,[176] a rebuttal of the universality claimed by the Occident and the localism assigned to the 'periphery'. In contesting the right to produce new epistemologies and ways of being, decolonial thinking signals the ongoing relevance of questioning legacies of imperialism.

1.2.6.2 The rise of the Fallists

The even more recent emergence of calls for decolonisation in post-apartheid South Africa, led principally by black students in institutions of higher learning, highlights the ongoing appeal of the idea (or ideas) of decolonisation to a new generation of intellectuals. This apparent anomaly, occurring 21 years after South Africa's first democratic elections, the date used by Zeleza to mark the end of decolonisation, and 105 years after Great Britain "had 'decolonized' South Africa"[177] suggests that as a floating signifier decolonisation retains relevance and currency beyond questions of constitutional change, and beyond temporal framing. Rather it speaks to perceptions of unrequited transformation from colonial/settler rule. That this movement centred some of its campaigns on symbolic acts, emerging initially in the Rhodes Must Fall campaign, is equally instructive. Firstly, for the fact that, as a

[176] D. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial thought and historical difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
[177] Rothermund op.cit. P.1.

political and cultural sign, a statue of Cecil Rhodes embodied British imperialism (more expansive than 'strict' applications of colonialism), meaning that the parameters of a decolonial discourse have been blown wide open; and secondly, for highlighting the volatility of cultural capital, specifically of visual representations, aspects of the discourse in decolonisation that have tended to be relegated to the margins, often accorded less importance than (orthodox) political and economic considerations.[178]

What should also be highlighted about the Fallist movement is its deployment of identity politics. On one hand it has followed the precedent of decolonisation movements that have privileged radical politics. But unlike the anti-racist nationalist policies of socialist movements such as Frelimo (or those pronounced by Sekou Toure), the Fallists have tethered all radical politics to Black identity. In that sense their vision of decolonisation is built on the premise of a Black nationalism (inclusive in intent, in the Biko sense).[179] It is too early to tell whether the project of broad-based black solidarity will hold or splinter into a populist, nativist mould (where some will be blacker than

[178] The building and naming of informal structures ("Shackville") at UCT, coupled with the controversial burnings of art works at the University, highlight the central role that visual representations and symbols have been accorded by this new generation of student activists. The resonance of symbolic action is evident in the unplanned spread of this 'movement' to parts of the UK and USA, where campaigns have targeted public monuments.

[179] Bantu Stephen Biko (1946-1977), widely recognised as the leading figure in South Africa's Black Consciousness Movement, championed a vision of Blackness that included all classified as 'non-white' under apartheid.

others), or alternately redefine the decolonial project in anti-racist terms.

1.3 De/Merits of a decolonial discourse

From the discussion above it should be clear that the question of the relationship between modern/ contemporary African art and decolonisation needs further elaboration and documentation. As my critique of Okeke-Agulu's formulation of postcolonial modernism demonstrates, the conceptual frameworks that one uses are critical in prompting particular sets of questions.

The reason for pursuing the decolonial has hinged on the following inter-related points.

i) The discourses preceding and following independence of African countries have included those of decolonisation, not postcolonialism. This does not mean that postcolonial discourse is irrelevant, but it does mean that coming to grips with questions of decolonisation is imperative in order to understand the intellectual currents and politics of the time.

ii) The question of artists grappling with colonial conventions, values, and discourses begins under colonial rule, and persists, albeit in different form, after independence. The decolonial, as a notional construct that bridges the pre and post independence periods, offers a critical lens to make comprehensive sense of the struggle with colonial capital. In contrast, the postcolonial

lens privileges the post-independence experience. Both decolonial and postcolonial pivot on the colonial, but arguably the *de* is more emphatic in its attempts to delink than the *post*.

iii) Late decolonisations, such as those of the lusophone countries, are sometimes presented as outside of the history of decolonisation. I am interested in relating Malangatana's body of work to that of artists in other (African) spatial and temporal contexts. Faced by the experience of colonialism, and subsequently the end of colonial rule, have artists resorted to a repertoire or spectrum of aesthetic options, regardless of whether they were 'late' or not?

In pursuing a decolonial framework there have been times when my own anxieties have manifested in doubts about my decision to privilege the decolonial. In particular, the tendency to define decolonisation as oppositional to colonisation brings with it the threat of reductive binaries. Cooper cautions that:

> "The binaries of colonizer/colonized, Western/non Western, and domination/resistance begin as useful devices for opening up questions of power but end up constraining the search for precise ways in which power is deployed and the ways in which power is engaged, contested, deflected and appropriated."[180]

In a similar vein, Pieterse and Parekh comment that:

[180] Cooper, 2003, op.cit. P.24.

> "A decolonization discourse that remains within the framework of binary opposition (Westernization/ orientalization, white/ black, etc.) without room for the interstices, lacks the resources for imagining the mixed and betwixt as a creative jostling space, of home-making in multiple worlds."[181]

These cautionary views highlight the prospect of epistemic constraints that can flow from rigid conceptions of decolonisation. Furthermore, the risks of a decolonial discourse are not only academic. Mahmood Mamdani, in arguing for a departure from the view that one is either a settler or a native[182] was responding to historical examples where the rhetoric of decolonisation ushered in divisive identity politics, leading to pogroms and genocide. These are the very real risks of a fundamentalist decolonisation discourse, particularly when exploited for political purposes.

[181] Pieterse and Parekh op.cit. P.15.

[182] M. Mamdani, "Beyond Settler and Native as Political Identities: Overcoming the political legacy of colonialism". In Enwezor op.cit. Pp.21-27.

CHAPTER TWO

COMPARATIVE DECOLONISATIONS: IMAGINED NATIONS AND AESTHETIC RESPONSES TO DECOLONIAL MOMENTS

In this chapter I consider how pioneering African modernists, situated in former British and French colonies, articulated new visual vocabularies during periods of decolonisation. Of the artists discussed, Uche Okeke and Ibrahim el Salahi were associated with Malangatana through several small (two and three person) exhibitions curated by Beier in the 1960s. However, the majority of artists discussed here have seldom or never been exhibited alongside Malangatana and/or brought into comparative discursive analysis with his work. I have extrapolated those qualities that a study of this diverse group brings to the fore that can be viewed as decolonial responses. Later, in the conclusion to this thesis, I consider the particular decolonial aesthetic of Malangatana in relation to this broader comparative framework.

2.1 Imagining the nation/s

There is a modest but growing body of literature on the founders of modern African art, much of which focusses on their struggles for authenticity in the pre and post independence periods. Little of this literature reflects on the ways in which their art and socio-political roles

relates to those of their historical peers in other African countries.[183]

This chapter aims to provide a comparative perspective of the aesthetics of decolonisation. It considers how the themes and formal language used by the 'independence-era' generation of artists gives visual form to contesting notions of nationalism. Benedict Anderson's formulation of "imagined communities" applied only to the hegemonic version of nationalism, that of the nation-state.[184] However, the nations imagined by artists who engaged critically with historical processes of decolonisation were frequently pluralistic, embracing questions of ethnic, cultural and political identity. As such, the imagined communities of decolonial artists have both affirmed and unsettled the supremacy of the nation-state. At times the simultaneity of these national imaginaries affirms a progressive plurality of identities where the 'local' and the 'international' complement each other. In other instances their concurrence speaks to stark divisions or conflicts, actual or suppressed, that, as history attests, can lead to civil war. While many individuals and communities manage to embrace multiple, entangled and overlapping notions of identity the visual arts provide a particular way of making these identities visible. This has been evident in much modern African art

[183] Kasfir's thematic approach to contemporary African art provides one notable example where situated case studies are brought into comparative discussion across nation-states. See Kasfir, 1999, op.cit. More recently Chika Okeke-Agulu's theorisation of postcolonial modernism makes a tentative effort to map pan-African relations. See Okeke-Agulu, 2015, op.cit.

[184] B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London and New York: Verso, 1991 [originally published in 1983].

produced amidst profound social and political change during the emergence of new nation states. As agents of the politics of representation and cultural identity, artists have found themselves cast as both praise singers and pariahs, diplomats and dissidents.

The formal languages of artists speak to competing notions of national identity, effectively visualising a contestation of decolonial visions. These reflect ongoing intellectual currents and popular sentiments, complementary or in conflict with the politics of the nation-state. Also highlighted is the traumatic postcolonial experiences of many countries (where civil wars undid, to paraphrase Beier, moments of hope)[185] which played a critical role in defining national identities. This subdued but did not extinguish discourses of decolonisation.

Embedded (but not elaborated) in this narrative is the question of art education. The relative presence (or absence) of art education - which can be linked to colonial policies and practices - enabled and inhibited the environment for the development of strong modern art movements across Africa. In particular, the British efforts to prepare natives for self-government can be directly linked to the establishment of universities, mostly in the late colonial period. Many of these institutions offered art education.[186] In contrast, in the

[185] U. Beier, "A Moment of Hope: Cultural developments in Nigeria before the first military coup". In Enwezor op.cit. Pp.45-49.

[186] While art education may appear ill suited for administrative training, from a coloniser's perspective it performed a complementary role in developing a relatively assimilated class of native subjects that could serve as a buffer between coloniser and colonised. It also

relative absence of universities, art education in French, Belgian and Portuguese colonial territories was almost always introduced in the form of informal workshops. These workshops were initiated by missionaries, expatriates and, less frequently, settlers or native subjects.

Art education played a central role in the development of modern art in Africa. Many of Africa's pioneering modernists studied abroad, mostly in the metropole, and returned to play key roles in teaching within their respective countries. For university art departments in British colonies the curriculum was usually determined by partner institutions in the metropole, both in the sense that teachers were largely metropole trained (expatriates or natives), as well as that the universities in the metropole were directly involved in the certification of courses, with many African art departments formally affiliated to universities in London. It is therefore not surprising that questions of curriculum and standards would become sites of struggle for nationalist teachers and students, particularly in the periods preceding and following independence. Most of the art movements that emerged were closely linked to sites of art education, both 'formal' and 'informal'.

I turn briefly to some of the better known examples of modern African art, where work has gone into locating artists and movements as part of the broader processes of nationalism and/or decolonisation.

---

had the fortuitous advantage of being able to groom individuals who could be used for propagandistic purposes as evidence of the benevolent, civilizing role of the colonising power.

2.2 African precedents

2.2.1 Sudan: National and international imaginaries in the art of Ibrahim el Salahi and Mohamed Shibrain

Until recently, the story of modern Sudanese art has not been discussed in the literature in terms of decolonisation, but rather in terms of nationalism and internationalism.[187] However it is difficult not to see strong affinities with other national studies, such as Nigeria and Senegal, where the nation operates as a floating signifier, anchored to the nation state but referring outside as well as within it.

Modern Sudanese art is customarily narrated around what is commonly referred to as the Khartoum school,[188] associated with the (then) School of Design at the Khartoum Training Institute.[189] The Khartoum School was part of broader national movement by Sudanese intellectuals. This included the literary organisation

---

[187] For a recent exception see I. Dadi, "Ibrahim El-Salahi and Calligraphic Modernism in a Comparative Perspective", in Hassan, 2012, op.cit. Pp.41-53.

[188] See Beier, 1968, op.cit. Pp.28-37; M.W. Mount, *African Art: The years since 1920*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973, pp.105-111; J. Kennedy, *New Currents, Ancient Rivers: Contemporary African artists in a generation of change*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian, 1992, pp.108-113; and S.M. Hassan, "Khartoum Connections: The Sudanese story", in Deliss op.cit. Pp.109-125.

[189] The colonial administration introduced art education in Sudan in the 1930s. Hassan has outlined the evolution of the initial art department at the (then) Gordon Memorial College, until its later incarnation as a college affiliated to the Sudan University of Technology. Hassan, 1995, op.cit. P.110.

School of the Desert and Jungle, as pointed out by Hassan.[190]

The artists most commonly associated with the Khartoum School are Ibrahim el Salahi (b. 1930) and Ahmad Mohamed Shibrain (b. 1931), both of whom built on the work of earlier pioneering figures.[191] Both artists came from Islamic backgrounds,[192] and were initially trained in Khartoum. They went on to further studies in London, and returned to teach at the School of Design.[193]

---

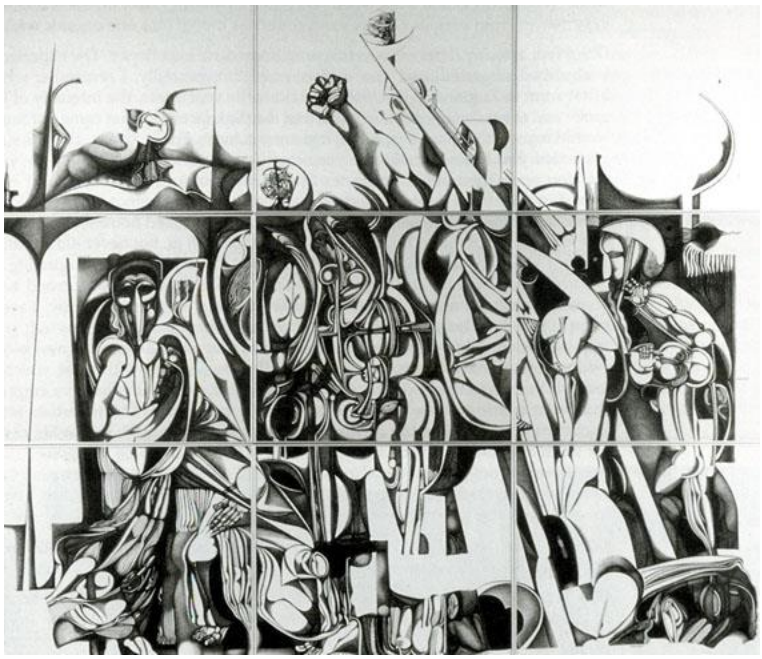
[190] Ibid. P.113.

[191] In its early phase, the School of Design (as the art department was then known) was associated with Jean-Pierre Greenlaw, whom el Salahi has credited with "want[ing] to have an art school based on Islamic philosophy". See J. Kennedy op.cit. P.110. Hassan has noted that: "Art produced by the pioneer generation- many of whose members traveled abroad to study in 1944 and 1945- formed the genesis of the modern movement. However in form, style and aesthetic, their art reflects a strict adherence to the western academic schooling they received in Europe, although their subject matter was largely drawn from their own environment and experience in Sudan." According to Hassan, Arabic identity began to manifest in Sudanese art through the work of Osman Waqialla (1925-2007), whom Hassan credits with "liberating Arabic calligraphy from its traditional boundaries of the sacred text, and for his daring explorations of calligraphic expressions in non-traditional, secular Arabic texts in both poetry and prose." Hassan, 1995, op.cit. P.110.

[192] El Salahi's father ran a Koranic school. See Hassan, 2012, op.cit. P.21. Shibrain was a descendant of a 19th century spiritual and temporal ruler who fought the British and Egyptians. See Mount op.cit. P.105.

[193] El Salahi's Khartoum studies commenced in 1948, three years prior to Waqialla's appointment at the school. In 1952 he was tasked with teaching duties, before pusuing further studies in London at the Slade and the Royal College of Art (1954-1957), Shibrain graduated in 1955, and was employed as teacher in the School of Design in 1956, the year of Sudan's political independence. Soon after, Shibrain went

Mohamed Shibrain, *Calligraphy*, c. 1960.
Pen and ink on paper
Source: Beier, 1968, op.cit.



Ibrahim el Salahi, *The Inevitable*, 1984-1985.
Ink on board, 532 x 604cm.
Coll: Cornell University. Source: Oguibe and Enwezor, op.cit.

---

on to study in London at the Central School of Art and Design (1957-1960).

The defining feature of the Khartoum school was the exploration of Arabic calligraphy and its formal abstraction. While much of this early work was produced in black and white, El Salahi and Shibrain are also noted for using colour as associational, to evoke the Sudanese landscape.

Critical faultlines between the two artists become apparent in their evocation of Sudanese national identity. Hassan has described Shibrain's work as being situated in an "Africanised Sudanese framework".[194] However, the quote from Shibrain used by Hassan to substantiate this observation, that his work "is a mixture of images, African-Arabic and Islamic"[195] suggests that Shibrain's art, or at least the content in his images, can only be defined as Sudanese in so far as national identity can be characterised as Islamic, or where (Sudanese) African culture reflects Arabic culture, which is generally Islamic. Other Sudans, notably the south that is typically described as Christian and animist suggests an African identity is not represented in Shibrain's work.

In contrast, el Salahi appears to have been far more self-consciously inclusive in his approach to developing a national aesthetic. On his return from his studies in London he undertook a national study. He travelled across the country, spent time in the desert, visited historical sites and ruins, researched indigenous arts and crafts, and incorporated indigenous motifs into his work.[196] While

[194] Hassan, 1995, op.cit. P.115.

[195] Ibid.

[196] El Salahi, quoted by Hassan, "The Modernist Experience in African Art". In Oguibe and Enwezor op.cit. P.225.

this does not discount the strong Islamic influence in his work, it does introduce a degree of formal and iconographic diversity not evident in the work of Shibrain.

Describing himself as a "mixture of Negro and Arab",[197] el Salahi's imagery frequently incorporated the human figure, which is absent in Shibrain's art. His figurative bias also suggests adherence to non-fundamentalist Islamic teachings. There appears to be a relationship between the contrasting outlooks of these two artists, as summarised briefly above, and the oppositional political positions they appear to have taken. El Salahi was jailed by the Nimarie regime in 1975, before going into exile, whereas in the mid 1980s Shibrain became part of what Hassan has described as "the new wave of Islamic revivalism, associated with the regime of General Nimarie and the current Islamic fundamentalist military junta in Sudan."[198] Shibrain's Islamic (Sudanese) nationalism coexists with a supranational Islamic identity, a common duality of nationalistic identities for Islamic states. This defines his internationalism as primarily Islamic, which may explain his relative absence from recent studies of modern African art, most of which are rooted in the West.

El Salahi appears equally concerned with his Muslim identity as a Muslim. He has spoken consistently and at length on his perception of painting as an act of prayer.[199] However his strong identification with Islam is

---

[197] J. Kennedy op.cit. P.110.

[198] Hassan, 1995, op.cit. P.121.

[199] For an early account of el Salahi on painting as meditation, and his role as a divine mediator see J. Kennedy op.cit. Pp.111-113. For

accompanied by qualities less visible with Shibrain, such as a strong sense of individualism[200] as well as clear sense of himself as a global citizen.[201] Over time the question of his Sudanese identity appears to have become less pronounced, perhaps as consequence of his postcolonial estrangement.[202]

There are not only divergent perceptions of (Sudanese) nationalism in Shibrain and el Salahi but also divergent internationalisms, and, it seems, divergent Islams. These evolved over time, and were influenced by the broader historical context as well as the artists' personal biographies.

2.2.2 Nigeria: Natural Synthesis and the concurrence of nationalisms

With modern Nigerian art, the decolonisation narrative is usually tied to the concept of Natural Synthesis, as articulated by Uche Okeke, then a student at the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology, Zaria, Northern Nigeria.[203] Okeke presented a short paper outlining this

---

a later account on his practice as a form of prayer see S. Adams, "In My Garment there is Nothing but God: Recent work by Ibrahim el Salahi". Los Angeles: *African Arts*, v.39, n.2, 2006, p.27.

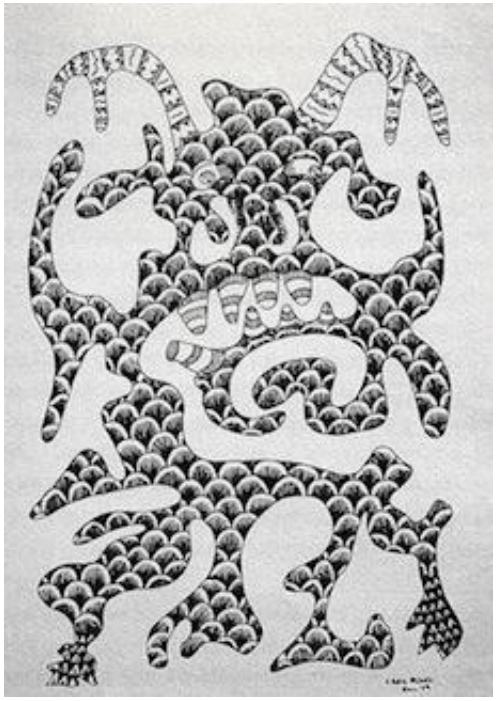
[200] His individualism is evidenced in his preoccupation and identification with a particular tree found on the banks of the Nile that blooms only when others do not. S. Adams, op.cit. Pp.31-35.

[201] U. Beier, "The Right to Claim the World: Conversation with Ibrahim el Salahi". London: *Third Text,* n.23, 1993, pp.23-30.

[202] For commentary on el Salahi's ambivalence in being framed as a "Sudanese artist" see S. Adams op.cit. P.32.

[203] Initially established in Ibadan in 1955, later re-named Ahmadu Bello University. For a contrary view that synthesis in modern

notion to fellow members of the Art Society, [204] on the eve of Nigerian independence (1960). The positioning of Okeke and the Art Society as central to the decolonisation discourse is aided by their emergence and visibility during the independence period,[205] as well as by Okeke's writings that made the political intentions of their project explicit.[206]



Uche Okeke, *Wondrous Omalide*, 1969.
Pen and ink on paper.
Source: Ottenberg op.cit.

Nigerian art predates Okeke's generation and should be credited to Enwonwu, see S.O. Ogbechie, "Revolution and Evolution in Modern Nigerian Art", in Nzegwu, 1999, op.cit. Pp.121-137.

[204] Often referred to as the Zaria Art Society, the Art Society was an association of university students.

[205] Although still students, Okeke and his peers had established enough of a national profile to play a key role in organising the official exhibition to celebrate political independence.

[206] See also Bruce Onobrakpeya's retrospective account of the Art Society where he claims that "cultural independence … is more difficult than political independence". B. Onobrakpeya, "The Zaria Art Society", in Deliss op.cit. P.197.

Earlier pioneering figures, such as Aina Onabolu (1882-1963), Akintola Lasekan and Ben Enwonwu (1921-1994) have, on the whole, been positioned outside of a discursive decolonial framework.[207] However, questions of nationalism, African subjectivity and modernity have been central to their framing.[208] In the case of Enwonwu, this has extended to Negritude and pan-Africanism.[209] Despite the relevance of these pioneers for a fuller discussion on the intersection between their art and decolonial aesthetics, commentary is restricted to succinct observations from a decolonial perspective, as the intention of this account is to problemmatise the restrictive model of decolonisation that has become a dominant narrative, particularly through the work of Okeke-Agulu.

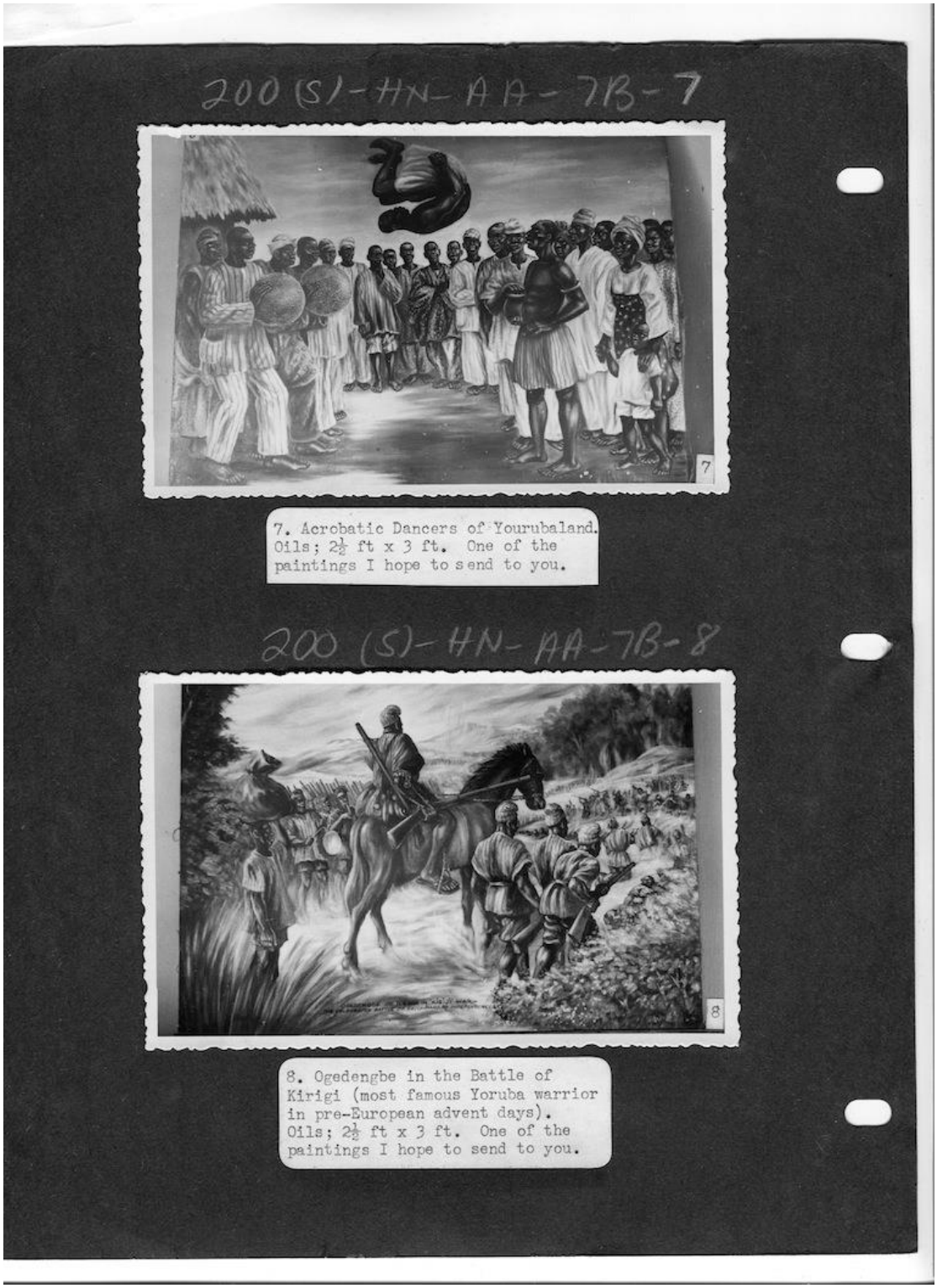
Okeke and his contemporaries represent a generation of Nigerian artists who benefitted from a university education, which their predecessors, notably Onabolu, had campaigned for, and which Onabolu and Enwonwu had to go abroad to attain. For Okeke and his peers the

---

[207] Earlier (1.1.3) I drew attention to tentative framing of Lasekan as a decolonial artist.

[208] For the most influential of these arguments see O. Oguibe, "Reverse Appropriation as Nationalism in Modern African Art", in R. Araeen, S. Cubitt, Z. Sardar (eds), *The Third Text Reader on Art, Culture and Theory*. London: Continuum, 2002, pp.36-47. For his analysis of Onabolu, Oguibe drew substantially on D. Onabolu, "Aina Onabolu". Lagos: *Nigeria Magazine*, n.79, 1963, pp.295-298. It merits comment that Oguibe (and numerous others who followed his argument) conveniently ignored key biographical details in Dapo Onabolu's obituary of his father, namely Onabolu's acceptance of an MBE from the Queen of England and of a traditional chieftancy title. These details complicate the positioning of Onabolu as a radical nationalist.

[209] See Ogbechie, 2008, op.cit.



Akintola Lasekan, photographs of paintings sent to Evelyn Brown for her pioneering study of contemporary African art

Source: Harmon Foundation archives, National Archives, Washington D.C.

Ben Enwonwu, *Going*, 1961.
Oil on canvas, 114 x 272 x 5.5cm.
Coll: University of Lagos.
(source: http://postwar.hausderkunst.de/en/artworks-artists/artists/ben-enwonwu)

decolonisation of art was tied to the transformation of the curriculum. The Zaria Rebels (as commonly known) actively lobbied against institutional affiliation to Goldsmiths School of Art, University of London. This was in contrast to the majority of their student contemporaries, who viewed affiliation to British universities as a validation of their training and certification.

Okeke argued that: "Our new society calls for a synthesis of old and new, of functional art and art for its own sake." Maintaining that "the key work is synthesis", he qualified this with the statement that "I am often tempted to describe it as natural synthesis for it should be unconscious not forced."[210]

The apparently organic, self-assured process of Natural Synthesis is deceptive. As Okeke-Agulu highlighted, the realisation of Natural Synthesis required conscious effort. He drew attention to the fact that the Society

[210] U. Okeke, "Natural Synthesis", in Deliss op.cit. P.208.

members were encouraged to research and discuss indigenous traditions, and their other sources.

> *"The ideology of Natural Synthesis entailed a conscious attempt to create art that is both modern and Nigerian, that is art that speaks to the condition of freedom inherent in political independence. By implication this meant an awareness but also a direct claiming of the artists' dual heritage as Nigerians who inherited rich African artistic traditions and as heirs to colonial/ European and postcolonial cultural practices. Okeke's description of their artistic program as 'natural,' is significant not least because the very process this program implied was anything but natural. Rather, the work called for entailed a very systematic approach to image-making that implied considerable intellection and conscious decision-making in terms of what artistic traditions to explore and what specific elements from these traditions to subject to formal experimentation. Clearly then, by describing their project as 'natural' he aligned with the tendency of political nationalism to insist on the naturalness or authenticity of the imagined nation and therefore rhetorically contrasted it with the forced artificiality of the Western art traditions associated with Zaria at the time."*[211]

It was largely the study of indigenous traditions, and their assimilation with the western idiom of (easel)

[211] C. Okeke-Agulu, "Nationalism and the Rhetoric of Modernism in Nigeria: The art of Uche Okeke and Demas Nwoko, 1960-1968". Los Angeles: *African Arts*, v.39, n.1, 2006, p.28.

painting, that gave Natural Synthesis its identifiable character. In Okeke's case this was through his study and adaption of *uli* painting, an Igbo wall and body painting tradition historically practiced by women. Okeke absorbed the aesthetic qualities of *uli* painting, applying principles of abstraction to invent a new pictorial language. He also had a sustained interest in Igbo mythology, frequently taking fables as themes. Okeke-Agulu argued that it was only after leaving Zaria that members of the Art Society, notably Okeke and Demas Nwoko (b. 1935), attained the Natural Synthesis they propagated.[212]

While the situation of Okeke and the Zaria Rebels within a national current that centred on decolonisation is a standard theme in much of the literature, it is Okeke-Agulu who has gone the furthest in interpreting their work within the context of decolonisation. This he has done with some caution, even anxiety.[213]

---

[212] Ibid. P.29. For Okeke, his later employment at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka after the Civil War - where he was directly responsible for developing the curriculum - saw the full fruition of Natural Synthesis, leading to an artistic movement commonly known as the Nsukka school or group.

[213] "The type of analysis attempted here raises questions about both its immediate and far-reaching implications about art, creative license, the historian's interpretative enterprise, and the construction of (art) history. In other words, does an insertion of a specific series of works within a larger discourse of national cultural politics do justice to the works' place in the artist's evolving formal style? The second implication is epistemological. How, for instance, might a reading of an artist's work suggest a greater or lesser sensitivity to, and identification with, his social place? Or does this reading constitute in itself an independent act of knowledge production separate from that inherent in the artist's gesture?" Ibid. P.27.

Okeke-Agulu based his interpretation on a theorisation of Nigerian nationalisms:

> *"The history of Nigerian nationalism shows two trends – a federalizing initiative that drew on the rhetoric of Pan-Africanism and another, which eventually triumphed, described by Coleman as the regionalization of nationalism (Coleman 1958: 319-31). As Coleman notes, nationalist politicians aspired to national office on the basis of their ethnic mandates and in the process reified Nigerian ethnic diversity and difference at the expense of a unified national spirit. I want to argue that, within this context, Okeke's work reflects this regionalising tendency while Nwoko speaks to the less prominent, perhaps more idealistic, pan-Nigerian creative intervention in Nigeria's cultural politics."*[214]

In his assessment of the impact of decolonisation on Okeke and Nwoko, Okeke-Agulu affirmed that:

> *"the work of Okeke and Nwoko, in the way it reflected different political scenarios that played out during the immediate independence period, testifies to the profound impact of decolonization politics on cultural production and modernist artistic practice and to the fact that fashioning a modernism in Nigeria at the time was in itself a political gesture variously interpreted by two*

[214] Ibid.

artists committed to the same idea of artistic innovation at the heart of all modernisms."[215]

Okeke-Agulu's distinction between two dominant modes of Nigerian nationalism, and his attempt to situate the work of specific artists within these modes is groundbreaking in that it begins to unpack divergent nationalist impulses in the work of the Zaria Art Society. He has vividly demonstrated the manner in which inflexions of these forms of nationalism can be read in the work of individual artists. Where Okeke-Agulu appears to have erred is in locating individual artists categorically within one of the nationalist modalities, rather than recognising that both the forms of nationalism that he identified can be read into the work of single artists. In discussing Okeke, whom he situates firmly as exemplary of the 'regionalization of nationalism' disposition, he overlooks the frequent references to divergent Nigerian ethnicities in the artist's early work.[216]

In that Okeke-Agulu weds decolonisation to the promise of a new independent Nigeria, it is telling that his analysis ends with the onset of civil war. For Okeke-Agulu, decolonisation died with the dream of a united Nigeria. He does not see the threat to Nigerian nationhood as a quintessentially decolonial act. Neither does he approach artists' responses to the question of secession as key to an elaboration of decolonial

[215] Ibid. P.37.

[216] By comparison, Ottenberg noted that Okeke drew on "both Igbo and northern cultures", as well as Christian and Muslim themes. Ottenberg op.cit. P.41.

aesthetics.[217] Nowhere is this theme more pertinently crystalised than in the artistic trajectory of Okeke. From 1966 Okeke's work began to address the northern pogroms and he was directly drawn into the Civil War (1967-1970).[218] There was a decline in pan-Nigerian themes in Okeke's work from his early to late works. The role of the Civil War in influencing this shift is apparent.

Okeke-Agulu, like Kasfir, equates (a restrictive view of) nationalism with decolonisation. However, emphasis on ethnic identity does not always signify a platform for national (nation-state) ambition. By using Coleman's example of politicians aspiring to national office on ethnic tickets, Okeke-Agulu introduces a comparison between political and artistic agendas that is not entirely appropriate. On the political front, the quest for secession failed with traumatic consequences. Campaigning for Biafra in the immediate aftermath of its defeat made little sense.[219] But this does not erase the

[217] Okeke-Agulu appears to invest in the idea of an "independence decade", which he twins with decolonisation. His *African Arts* essay focuses on the years 1958 to 1968, whereas the title of his PhD thesis opts for 1957-1967. This emphasis on neat bracketing into a ten-year span runs through his writings and has even affected his analysis of non-Nigerian artists. See Okeke-Agulu, "Ibrahim El-Salahi and Postcolonial Modernism in the Independence Decade", in Hassan, 2012, op.cit. Pp.28-39.

[218] For an account of Okeke's key role within the Biafran Directorate of Propaganda, see Ottenberg op.cit. Pp.66-67.

[219] Political mobilisation on this question has resurfaced in recent years, with the formation of the Indigenous People of Biafra, a movement campaigning for secession, which has been declared a terrorist organisation by Nigerian President Buhari. See Anon. "Biafra: President Buhari signs proclamation proscribing IPOB", 19 September 2017. Online: *Daily Post*, http://dailypost.ng/2017/09/19/biafra-president-buhari-signs-proclamation-proscribing-ipob/

significance of ethnically based cultural identity as a form of resistance, challenge or disavowal of the nation-state.

As artist and art historian Moyo Okediji notes:

> *"in postcolonial terms, ethnic-oriented aesthetics translates into an attempt by the artists to take control of their history beyond the heritage of colonialism … it is, likewise a rejection of the externally defined political entities designed by the colonial powers during the 19th century for the exploitation of Africa."*[220]

Okeke himself, as Okeke-Agulu notes, often described himself as Igbo first, Nigerian second. This may, on one hand, simply serve to support Okeke-Agulu's characterisation of Okeke as a regionalist nationalist. However, in considering the project of decolonisation, such self-identification may also be read as critical rejection of the promise of the failed nation-state. Ottenberg comments that:

> *"[Okeke] has been an artist politician rather than expressing politics in his art. He has written that he is 'fully aware of the importance of cultural politics or the politics of culture as a weapon for the collective survival and indeed corporate identity of the Nigerian peoples.'"*[221]

---

[220] M. Okediji, "Of Gaboon Vipers and Guinea Corn: Iconographic kinship across the Atlantic", in Nzegwu, 1999, op.cit. P.54.
[221] Ottenberg op.cit. P.75.

It is the plurality of Okeke's reference to "Nigerian peoples" that deserves attention, along with the ambiguity about "collective survival" - does this refer to the survival of Nigeria or of its (distinct or separate) peoples, or both? This can be read in Okeke-Agulu's terms, i.e. many people making up one nation. But in affirming plurality it can also be read as a dismissal of the 'One Nigeria' movement that won the war. There is perhaps a pragmatic nationalism here in the acceptance of 'Nigeria', alongside a more deeply felt sense of nationhood.

What is at stake here is less a matter of Okeke's personal politics than a broader recognition that competing counter nationalisms coexist, along with the nationalism(s) most commonly identified with the nation-state. Ethnic nationalisms, as discussed here, express one alternative, and can take many forms.[222]

It is important to recognise that there was a further form of nationalism operative during this period – pan-Africanism, more specifically a strain of pan-Africanism that represents not so much a movement of solidarity between nation states but rather an internationalist vision of a united 'black nation'. This may, as Cooper points out, have been one of the losers of political decolonisation, but this did not entirely diffuse its currency at a cultural level.[223]

---

[222] Apart from senses of nationhood bounded by singular countries, ethnic nationalisms can cross national borders into neighbouring countries (as with the Yoruba) or survive as diasporic, international identities.

[223] Cooper, 2002, op.cit. P.66.

That a broader quest for African identity existed alongside the Nigerian question in the articulation of Natural Synthesis is noted by Okeke-Agulu:

> *"the national political landscape and the colonial question would become the focus of the students' ideological and intellectual energies. This in turn led to questions about the conditions of their tutelage and the nature of art in a decolonizing society. The Art Society, therefore, was founded primarily to give its members a sense of direction as Africans, for it was apparent to its members that there was an unavoidable problem of culture conflict, as their teachers were mostly expatriates 'who had their own culture, who had their own ideas.'"*[224]

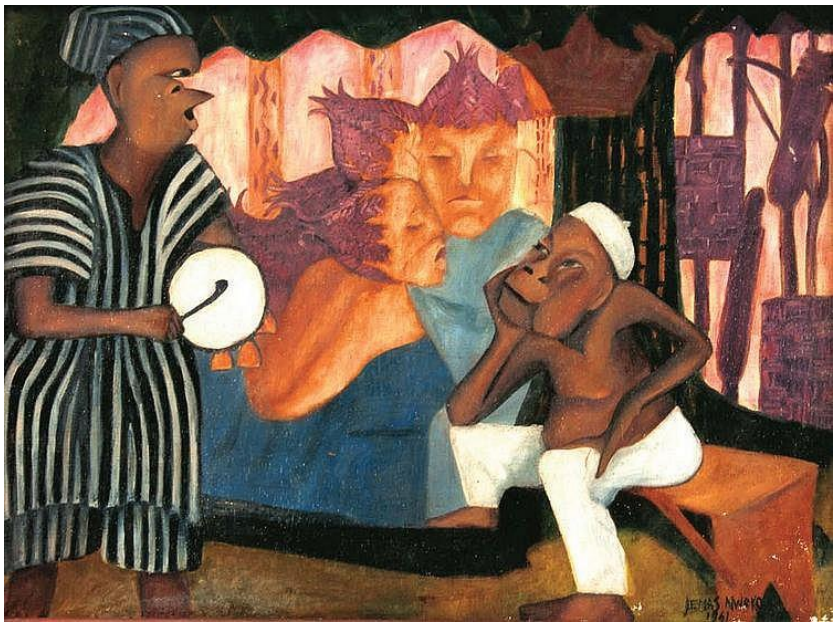
There is an important point here, because the discourse of nationalism that has been most frequently used to frame Okeke and the Zarianists is that of the nation-state, whereas there is a broader nationalism operative here, namely a pan-African (black) nationalism that had wide circulation in the anticolonial struggle.[225] Okeke himself saw the need not only for artists to participate in shaping the new nation state but also saw this as part of the broader international struggles for black (African) liberation. In his Natural Synthesis address to the Art Society he argued that:

---

[224] Jimo Akolo quoted in Okeke-Agulu, 2006, op.cit. P.27 (emphasis added).

[225] Cooper points out that in the post-independence period pan-Africanism mutated into the idea of unity between independent states. Cooper, 2002, op.cit. P.81.

"Nigeria needs a virile school of art with new philosophy of the new age – our renaissance period. Whether our African writers call the new realization Negritude, or our politicians talk about the African personality, they both stand for the awareness and yearning for freedom of black people all over the world. Contemporary Nigerian artists, could and should champion the cause of this movement."[226]



Demas Nwoko, *Praise Singer*, 1961.
Oil on board, 91 x 122cm
Source: https://www.invaluable.co.uk/auction-lot/demas-nwoko-b1935-praise-singer-1961-oil-on-78-c-7f4faad721

In Nigeria, this pan-African movement perhaps found its finest hour in the post-independence *Mbari* artists and writers' movement, especially in its initial phase in Ibadan. It is instructive to note that subsequent *Mbari* associations in Oshogbo and Enugu had strong ethnic identifications, Yoruba and Igbo respectively. Mbari can thus be read as a microcosm of the post-independence

[226] Okeke op.cit. P.208.

political situation. This began with the euphoria of the new nation-state, a magnet for pan-Africanist aspirations, and descended rapidly into the ethnic cauldron of the Civil War. Important then, to note a contestation of nationalisms, notably pan-Africanism, Nigerianism, and Igboism that are all at play in Okeke's art. All were profoundly impacted on by the historical moment.

Having emphasised Okeke's Igbo identity above, it is critical to recognise that Okeke-Agulu's characterisation of Okeke as exemplifying regionalist nationalism discounts other factors that define his individuality. According to Ottenberg, Okeke drew his sources largely from his home region, rather than from broader Igboland.[227] Ottenberg highlighted Okeke's non-exploration of prominent Igbo art forms, particularly *nsibidi* and *mbari*. While Ottenberg also highlighted Okeke's perception that his Anambra-based Igbo motifs and folk tales are more broadly Igbo, a self-conscious articulation of an ethnically based cultural identity could well have expected, in this instance, to be pan-Igbo. In Okeke not pursuing this option Ottenberg has posited the importance of personal biography in defining the artist's lexicon, along with questions of his personal artistic sensibility.[228]

Okeke's work, as well as that of the Nsukka group, is also instructive for decolonisation discourse in its idealisation of the ancestral past, a point elaborated on by Ottenberg.[229] Ottenberg remarked on Okeke and the

[227] Ottenberg op.cit. P.61.

[228] Ibid. Pp.253-254.

[229] Ibid. Pp.256-257.

Nsukka group that "there [was] a desire to repossess the supposed quality of life of earlier times while living in the modern world ... they [were] exploring [the values of indigenous African cultures] in terms of present-day life." He also noted that while they did want to return to the past, after the Biafran war:

> *"there was an Igbo cultural revival from 1970 into the 1980s ... The Nsukka artists' group, which began in 1970, shortly after the fighting ended, was part of that revival, a reconstruction of Igbo life and culture, although some of their interests in Igbo elements began before the war. The artists' embracing of uli and other Igbo aesthetic qualities, after the fighting, contributed to a general Igbo revival; the Nsukka artists thus played a historic part in this revival. Of course, there was no full return to prewar culture in the arts or elsewhere, but reinterpretations of it and some abandonment of prewar practices."*[230]

A key point is that the use of ethnic sources by artists, particularly in politically charged environments is inherently ideological. Such practice is in many respects dangerous; it carries consequences through affirming cultural identities that are at the heart of social and political conflict. The visual has the capacity to articulate what the spoken word may be wary of, although this may be more evocative and ambiguous than didactic.

[230] Ibid.

2.2.3 Senegal: Negrititude and Ecole de Dakar

Like Nigeria, the decolonisation discourse in Senegal has a philosophical position to anchor it. But, unlike Natural Synthesis that was an artistic manifesto, Negritude graduated from an ideological and aesthetic discourse into an official national policy. The Senegalese Nedritudinist discourse invariably centres on the seminal role played by Leopold Sedar Senghor (1906-2001), poet, philosopher, politician and the country's first President, with whom the ideology of Negritude is closely associated. A striking feature of this discourse is that, in the visual arts, it *commences* with independence, occupies the full tenure of Senghor's presidency (until 1980), and is seen to extend indefinitely.[231]

Negritude's origins are found in the francophone diaspora in Paris in the 1930s. The original definition of Negritude, coined by Aime Cesaire (1913-2008) was "the simple recognition of being black and the acceptance of this fact, of our destiny as black people, of our history, and of our culture."[232]

The international origins and interests of Negritude are important, as Senghor attempted to retain this aspect in defining national policy. However, whereas Negritude can in general be viewed as a form of Black solidarity,

[231] Harney comments on "post-Senghorian Senegal, an era in which the project of decolonization is considered incomplete". Harney, 2004, op.cit. P.6.

[232] Ibid. P.21. See also Senghor's characterisation of Negritude as "quite simply the assembly of the values of black civilization. It is not racism, it is culture." Ibid.

Senghorian Negritude is much more complicated as it engaged with the entanglement of French and francophone African identity, with the colonial policy of cultural assimilation central to this process. According to Senghor:

> *"Paradoxically as this may seem, writers and artists must and do play a most important role in the struggle for decolonization. It is up to them to remind politicians that politics and administration are but one aspect of culture, and that cultural colonialism, in the shape of assimilation, is the worst of all."*[233]

A defining characteristic of the Senghorian negritudinist aesthetic was the artistic search to define qualities that were intrinsically African. In the visual arts this was expressed through an emphasis on rhythm, emotion, intuition, vital force, and colour. Thematically, this was often aligned with a search for pan-African archetypes (e.g. masks) as well as ancestral myths and, less commonly, historical subjects. Form and content converged through an emphasis on stylisation.[234] The

---

[233] Senghor quoted by Harney. Ibid. P.248.

[234] "The nature of Negro art] has always been [to use] unchanging symbols - the same underlying style involves the *stylisation* of the subject." L.S Senghor, "The Role and Significance of the Premier Festival Mondial des Arts Negres. Address, Dakar, 1966", in Deliss op.cit. P.225 (original emphasis). This stylisation has sometimes been interpreted as representing the distance between contemporary artists and traditional themes and life. Kasfir argues that this distance from traditional art and culture gave rise to excessive ornamentation, citing Cheikh Anta Diop's observation (made in 1948) that in Senegal "sculpture had disappeared."' Kasfir, 1999, op.cit. Pp.169-170.

artists associated with this approach became known as the Ecole de Dakar, an African copy of the School of Paris.[235]

Ibou Diouf, The Three Wives (*Le Tris Espouses)*, 1974.
Wool tapestry, 364 x 472cm.
Coll: Government of Senegal
Source: Grabski, op.cit.

It was precisely Senghor's attempt to define essential African qualities that has been enduringly controversial, not least for many African intellectuals.[236] The main problem was that Senghor's essential African qualities were uncomfortably close to European views of Africans as primarily irrational, sensory beings.

[235] The term was first used at the Festival of Black Cultures by André Malraux, the French Minister of Culture. J. Grabski, "Painting Fictions/ Painting History: Modernist pioneers at Senegal's Ecole des Arts". Los Angeles: *African Arts*, v.39, n.1, 2006, p.46.

[236] Senghor's ideas continue to attract debate. The journal *Third Text* published a special edition on revisionist perspectives on Senghor's intellectual legacy. Edited by Nigerian literary scholar Denis Ekpo, it was themed as "Beyond Negritude- Senghor's vision for Africa". London: *Third Text*, v.24, n.2, 2010.

The difficulties in defining black African identity notwithstanding, it is important to recognise that Senghor promoted a vision of culture as dynamic. He cautioned against the idea of returning to the mythical past:

> *"We could not go back to our former condition, to a negritude of the sources ... we had to embody Negro African culture in twentieth-century realities … to enable our negritude to be, instead of a museum-piece, the efficient instrument of liberation."*[237]

Harney explains Senghor's recourse to the past as a means of defining a contemporary identity, to be mobilised for political ends:

> *"Senghor's perception of Negritude was multidimensional, looking eloquently and nostalgically to the past while simultaneously envisioning a proactive, revolutionary role for the philosophy, seeing it as a tool for forging a new supranational and national sense of being and belonging."*[238]

The question of going forward required a selective assimilation of other cultures. Harney deftly captures the duality of Senghorian Negritude:

> *"So while, on the one hand, [Senghor] would declare, "We must remain Negroes … Negro-Africans … we must drink each day from the gushing springs of rhythm*

[237] Harney, 2004, op.cit. Pp.42-43.

[238] Ibid. Pp.38-39.

and the image-symbol of love and faith," on the other, he insisted that "a civilization would stagnate and die if it were not vivified by the power of cultural spirit; its style crystallizes into vacant forms, into formulae, if it does not borrow from others."[239]

These 'others' included non-black sources. Indeed, Senghor's prototype for embodying the 'power of cultural spirit' was a European artist, Pablo Picasso (1881-1973), who Senghor used to stress invention, as opposed to imitation.[240]

Senghor's arguments were often poetic in formulation, and developed over time, making him often appear contradictory. But what appears constant from an aesthetic position is the ongoing dialectic between two ideas: i) the notion of a 'negritude of the sources'; and ii) the 'active assimilation' of 'other' cultures, notably the ideas and practices of modern western art.

Tapestry was one of the trademark genres of the Ecole de Dakar, and was developed under the leadership of Papa Ibra Tall (1935-2015). In 1965 Tall founded a tapestry workshop (Manufacture Senegalaise des Arts Decoratif) in Thies. Modelled on a tapestry school in Aubusson, France there was an assumption by Tall and Senghor that:

"despite the importation of materials, looms, and techniques from the Gobelin manufacturers, the process of weaving was inherently African in its

[239] Ibid. P.42.

[240] See L.S. Senghor, "Picasso en Nigritie. Inauguration address, Picasso exhibition, Dakar, April 1972", in Deliss op.cit. Pp.228-230.

practice. In this way the Thies products could be situated within the authentic sphere of indigenous weaving practices, while simultaneously contributing a modern form to the genre... it used what Tall believed to be authentic African themes, colors, and designs. The style of its creations was highly decorative, featuring intricate, brightly colored rhythmical patterns and stylized figures, all occupying a shallow space. The tapestries featured scenes of daily life and the marketplace, explored the relationship between the sexes, documented indigenous flora and fauna, memorialized the masks and sculptures of 'traditional' Africa, celebrated the heroes of precolonial history, and chronicled local myths. As grandiose works, they were positioned as the ultimate embodiments of an esthetique Negro-Africaine (Negro-African aesthetic) and served, therefore, as the flagships of the Ecole de Dakar. It was in the production, consumption, interpretation, and distribution of these objects that one saw most clearly Senghor's art world in motion."[241]

Recent scholarship, notably by Harney and Grabski, has attempted to shift the historical focus on Senghor towards the artists themselves. Grabski also highlighted the enduring influence of Pierre Lods (1921-1988) on modern Senegalese art, and how his legacy has manifested in an emphasis on originality.[242] Harney concurred with

[241] Harney, 2004, op.cit. P.68

[242] Grabski op.cit. P.40. French expatriate painter Pierre Lods established his reputation after he founded the Poto-Poto workshop in Congo-Brazzaville in 1951. Both celebrated and vilified for his non-didactic approach to the reaching of art, Lods was invited by Senghor

Grabski on Lods' influence, but cautioned against underestimating Senghor's influence in shaping the environment.[243]

Harney has argued for a recognition of artists as agents in shaping the Negritude discourse, leaning heavily on Tall to make this argument.[244] Grabski cautioned against treating Tall as exemplary. She has argued that many of the artists were not as conversant with Senghor's ideas, often not reading his texts, and that their works should be read as personal responses to the discourses of the day, shaped by their interests in defining themselves as individual artists.[245]

Tall himself provides a perspective that supports both these views, simultaneously articulating a negritudinist identity (Black supranational and Senegalese national) which was nonetheless a personal one.

> *"So, at the time it was a question of creating, for myself, an artistic language which seemed to me to belong to Africa and to Senegal. I concluded that art is universal but that it was necessary for there to be particularities that one had to transcend to achieve this universality. So I thought that I*

---

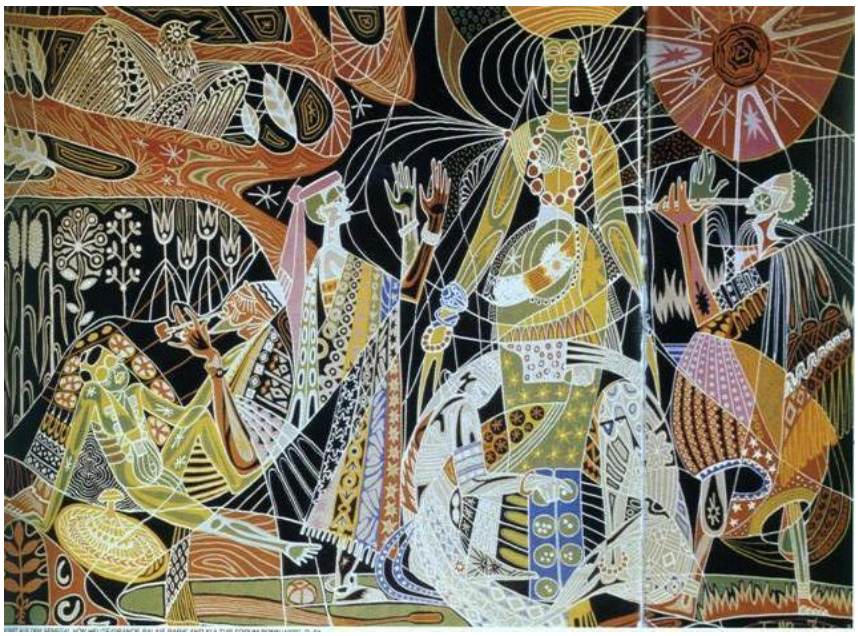
to teach at the newly established art academy in Dakar. See Harney, 2004, op.cit. Pp.65-66.

[243] E. Harney, "Commentary". Los Angeles: *African Arts*, v.39, n.1, 2006, p.49.

[244] Harney comments that "the challenge for Tall's students … was to find a way to incorporate philosophical and socio-political ideas embodied in Negritude debates, anticolonial struggle, and postcolonial aspirations into concrete visual forms." Harney, 2004, op.cit. P.56.

[245] Grabski op.cit. P.38.

couldn't imitate what the French were doing. I was completely outside of that tradition. Therefore, I thought that it was necessary for me to construct a completely new language. I was inspired by the theory of Negritude which, back then, you must recall, was unique ... What interested me in finding a kind of authenticity was not to create pure decoration but to create a language of visual forms which defined me for myself."[246]



Papa Ibra Tall, First Song (*Woï Benneel*), 1963.
Wool tapestry, 385 x 565cm.
Coll: Government of Senegal
Source: Grabski op.cit.

The question of what constitutes oneself is philosophical. It mediates between collectivist and individualist identity. Ima Ebong articulates this tension for the Ecole de Dakar when, in placing emphasis on culture she stresses its invention, and the role of individual expression:

[246] Harney, 2004, op.cit. P.59 (emphasis added).

> *"For the artists, the challenge seems to have lain in devising formal strategies that would retain the authority of a traditional identity while at the same time modifying it to accommodate more individualised artists agendas."*[247]

In mediating the intercourse between a collective identity and individual agency the very notion of a School of Dakar wedded to Negritude has come into question. Commonly understood to signify those artists whose works bear the strongest resemblance to the rhetoric of Senghorian Negritude, Harney stakes out a more inclusive vision of the Ecole de Dakar. She does this by presenting a sociological view, highlighting it as a network of power and patronage; simultaneously she presents it as an art movement characterised by diversity. Harney highlights multiple roles assumed by artists of the Ecole:

> *"…the artist figure assumed a variety of contradictory roles and definitions, serving as ambassador in the international arena, as seer, as documentarian, as representative within the new national space, as court 'lap-dog,' and as the quintessential male, modernist, cursed, and misunderstood genius."*[248]

By contrast, Grabski cautioned that some of the diversity found in modern Senegalese art comes from artists who

---

[247] I. Ebong, "Negritude: Between mask and flag – Senegalese cultural ideology and the Ecole de Dakar", in Oguibe and Enwezor op.cit. P.135 (emphasis added).

[248] Harney, 2004, op.cit. P.52.

were peripheral to the power and patronage that came to officially approved artists. A notable example is Alpha Walla Diallo[249] (b. 1927), who briefly attended the Academy, then headed by Lods. Diallo, who aspired to the classical conventions of history painting, argued against the invention of mythical fictions as Senegalese history was rich in narratives of the anti-colonial struggle.[250]

Alpha Wallid Diallo, *Disembarkment of Blaise Diagne in Saint Louis (Debarquement de Blaise Diagne a Saint Louis)*, 1972.
Oil on canvas 69 x 99cm.
Coll: Government of Senegal. Source: Grabski op.cit.

Whether Diallo is a typical or atypical example of the Ecole de Dakar is largely irrelevant for the purposes of this study. He clearly signals an aesthetic response to decolonisation, defined by an emphasis on depicting specific episodes of the anti-colonial struggle. His work was informed by historical research; and he utilised realist techniques such as illusionistic depth, naturalistic likeness, a detachment of vision, and narrative. His compositions are often dispassionate,

[249] Also known as Alpha Walid Diallo and Alpha Woualid Diallo.

[250] Grabski op.cit. P.42.

almost incidental in tone, although at times he introduces a sense of drama by using the romantic convention of depicting natural elements to generate emotive responses to his topic.[251]

Arguably, where Senghor's Negritude fell short in its decolonisation was perhaps less in its rhetoric than in its failure to engage a mass audience in Senegal and to build a local market for artists. The elite, neo-colonial character of his 'revolution' is exposed in Harney's commentary:

> *"the arts infrastructure remained essentially export-oriented, promoting an image of the nation and its aesthetic abroad … this field of production did not lead to a vibrant market for the works of individual artists at home. Private patronage was scarce and dominated by expatriates and a small bourgeoisie. Independent and indigenously run galleries did not exist at this time; nor did a lively, critical, public debate, separate from government organs, on the merits and meanings of the artworks … [This] serves to illuminate a contradiction between the rhetoric and reality of the Senghorian art world."* [252]

---

[251] For a dramatic scene by Diallo depicting a historic battle between Wolof troops and French troops see Grabski op.cit. P.47. This work stands in stark contrast to works such as Abdoulaye Ndiaye's tapestry *Bamba et lat Diour* (1973, illustrated in Harney, 2004, op.cit.) which also refers to a specific anti-colonial battle, but where any narrative aspect is entirely secondary to the formal, ornamental qualities of the design.

[252] Harney, 2004, op.cit. Pp.68-69.

2.2.4 Morocco: The Moroccanity of Farid Belkahia

Hamid Irbouh has located colonial-era art education in Morocco as part of a strategy to establish French cultural hegemony.[253] It follows, as Holiday Powers has pointed out, that: "[Postcolonial Moroccan artists] looked to the cultural heritage of Morocco to foster a modernism based on referents outside of Europe."[254] A turning point came with the appointment of Farid Belkahia as head of the Casablanca School of Fine Arts in 1962. Belkahia, who studied art in Paris and Prague, was a prominent member of a movement known as the Nativists, which advocated cultural decolonisation. According to Irbouh:

> *"[Belkahia] hypothesises that cultural independence does not necessarily parallel national liberation because national liberation alone is a 'pseudo-liberation,' the beginning of one's own cultural decolonisation. True liberation must lead to the destruction of the total colonial cultural episteme."*[255]

In practice this destruction of the colonial episteme centred on the use of materials and aesthetic forms associated with traditional Moroccan crafts. El Salahi, Okeke, and Tall had all used indigenous traditions to create new visual languages, and Tall moved away from easel painting, but all retained the idea of the art

[253] Irbouh, 2012, op.cit.

[254] H. Powers, "Modernization and Traditionalization: Art and Decolonization in Morocco", in SAVAH, op.cit. P.244.

[255] Irbouh, 2012, op.cit. P.238.

object as a flat, rectangular object. Not so Farid Belkahia, who used copper, leather, and henna to create

Farid Belkahia, *Procession*, n.d.
Dyes and henna on parchment applied to board, 163 x 242cm.
Coll: Mathaf: Arab Museum of Modern Art, Doha.
Source: http://africanartagenda.tumblr.com/post/45832269763/farid-belkahia)

irregular shaped wall pieces. Like the artists of the Khartoum school, Islamic motifs are incorporated into his aesthetic. And like el Salahi, Belkahia often focuses on the human body, although this is radically abstracted into lyrical shapes, sometimes with erotic allusions. Like all of the artists herein mentioned, Belkahia represents a personal response to a range of possible identities. This includes positioning himself as part of an alternate constellation of the international art community, one that sits uneasily in relation to the hegemonic western-centric art world.

According to Irbouh, Belkahia has maintained that, "no dialogue between the West and the postcolonial 'Third

World' could exist, because the former never allows the cultural specificity of the latter to take central stage."[256] At the same time, Belkahia promoted a "Moroccanity" that extended beyond "the limited and sectarian nationalist context".[257] Quoting Belkahia's colleague Maraini, Irbouh identifies this Morocannity as a "junction of several cultures (Saharan, African, Iberian, Phoenician, Berber, Mediterranean, Middle eastern and, finally, Arab and Islamic)."[258]

The Nativists not only broke from western art through their iconography and forms, they also self-consciously bridged the gap between artist and artisan, thereby closing the gap between art and craft that had been a hallmark of western culture since the days of the Italian Renaissance. In addition, for a period, they attempted to break from the use of galleries, opting for public spaces.

Belkahia's determined efforts to delink from Western Culture and to establish an alternate international and universal epistemy is critiqued by Irbouh who maintains that the Nativists:

> *"constructed their discourse through the prism of a binary opposition, one in which the West never ceases to be the ever present enemy … This refusal of any dialogue with the West entailed a number of limitations and impoverished the connotational*

[256] Ibid.

[257] Ibid.

[258] Ibid.

complexity of the inherited Moroccan visual culture."[259]

Evidence of the difficulties in maintaining a binary position between the West and Morocannity can be seen in Belkahia's curriculum vitae on his website.[260] While most of his solo exhibitions have been in Morocco, affirming his success in reaching a local audience, his international exhibitions have been mostly in Europe, especially in France. This hints at a neo-colonial pattern that marks the careers of many of Africa's pioneering modernists.

2.2.5 East Africa (Uganda/Tanzania): Sam Ntiro and the utopian imaginary of ujamaa

Sam Ntiro was one of the founding figures of modern art in East Africa. A Tanzanian who studied at Makerere Art School in Kampala, Uganda, Ntiro had a successful international career during the 1950s and 1960s, and was the first African to have a work purchased by the Museum of Modern Art, New York. Art history has not been kind to Ntiro. There has been no proper study of his work conducted. Several commentators have written him off as a naïve artist peddling a rustic view of Africa to a Western audience. In particular, he has tended to be

---

[259] Ibid.

[260] There are 27 French exhibits listed on his CV, of which eight are solo exhibits. By comparison, there are three other European solo shows listed, and four non-western solos (Qatar, Jordan, and two in Tunisia). He has participated in 14 group exhibits in non-western countries (once in Japan, Turkey, Iraq, Senegal, Algeria, twice in South Africa and Brazil, and five times in Tunisia). http://fondationfaridbelkahia.com/exposition/

positioned as the faithful disciple of Margaret Trowell, the founder of the art department at Makerere. Even writers sympathetic to him have dismissed Ntiro as formulaic.[261]

A notable exception to this is found in the thesis written by Angelo Kakande, a Ugandan academic.[262] Kakande correctly diagnosed the socialist content of Ntiro's work, citing his paintings of collective labour and village life as images of *ujamaa*, the vision of African socialism propagated by Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere. However, Ntiro's villages cannot all be assigned a post Arusha Declaration content. Indeed, it is the spatial and temporal ambiguity of Ntiro's work that lends itself to rich readings.

On one level Ntiro draws on his ethnic identity, but contrary to the way that he is often represented as a chronicler of quotidian Chagga life, comparatively few of his works are specifically concerned with recording Chagga themes. Rather, he generalises a rural African imaginary, not unlike Nyerere (and oher pan-Africanist ideologues) who linked nation-state patriotism to a broader pan-African vision. Images of collective activity articulate and promote ideas of unity, self-reliance and self-sufficiency. There is no class differentiation although gender roles can be discerned. Agricultural

---

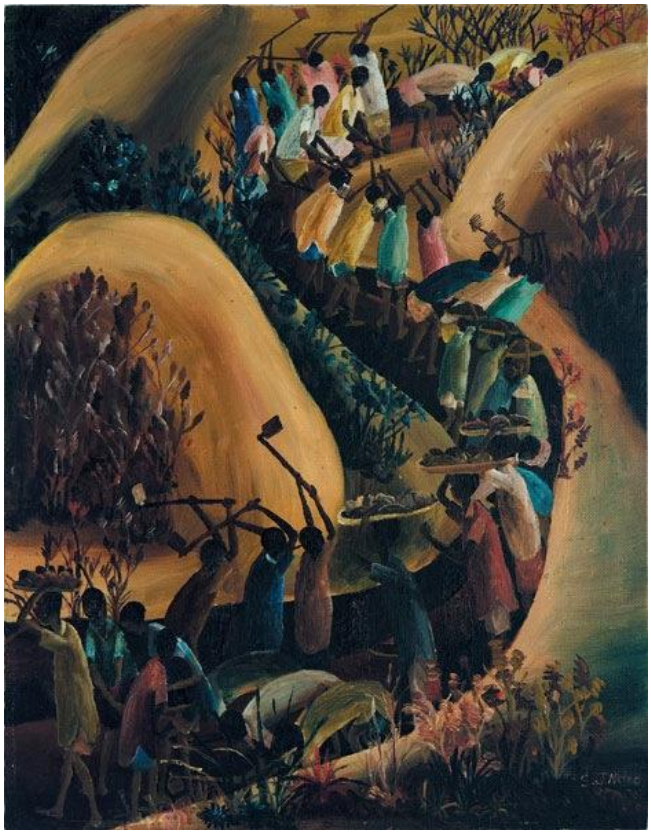
[261] For a critique of these views, highlighting the limited historical basis of much of this commentary, see M. Pissarra, "Re/writing Sam J. Ntiro". Online: *Third Text Africa*, v.4, 2015, pp.25-60, http://asai.co.za/third-text-africa/

[262] A. Kakande, *Contemporary Art in Uganda: A Nexus between Art and Politics*. Johannesburg: PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2008.

themes depicting humans living in harmony with the natural environment quietly rebuke colonial policies and practices of industrial and commercial farming.

It is significant that Ntiro did not develop his aesthetic in response to a political edict. Rather it appears to be a case of political synchronicity, with many of his 'African socialist' themes predating Nyerere's writings and speeches on the topic. In creating images that were simultaneously of an idyllic past, albeit a comparatively recent one (Ntiro's people do wear modest Western attire) and a utopian vision of the future, Ntiro provided a perfect visual score to support the idea that the socialism of Nyerere was consistent with African ways of doing things. In articulating a contemporary lens for an emerging African socialism, it is instructive to note that Ntiro retained his utopian vision long after the demise of *ujamaa* as a political project.

Ntiro disrupts the literature on art and decolonisation as he does not sit comfortably in a national frame. He was Tanzanian but his formative career was in Uganda. East Africa was one region where the question of a transnational federation was cautiously applied, but ultimately failed. Ntiro and his peers at Makerere – among them, Gregory Maloba (1922-2004, Kenyan), Elimo Njau (b. 1932, Tanzania), Jak Katarikawe (1940-2018, Ugandan), and even Trowell – were part of the historic moment when Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya were taking decisions about the development of infrastructure to unite these three countries as one political entity.



Sam Ntiro, *Working on a winding road.*, n.d.
Oil on board, 68.5 x 53.5cm
Source: M. Stevenson and J. Boosland, op.cit.

2.3 Notes towards a decolonial aesthetic

From the above discussion one can glean a wide range of aesthetic responses to decolonisation. Along with other artists not discussed above, such as the Congolese history painter Tshibumba; they provide a range of examples from which one can begin the task of extrapolating patterns. In short, many artists gravitated towards (self-identified) indigenous sources, whilst others were more drawn towards defining new hybrid identities that made substantive use of 'external' sources. These trends correspond broadly to Pieterse and Pareh's emphasis on nativist and syncretic responses to

decolonisation. In practice, nativism and syncretism exist in dialectical relationship. Some examples can be viewed as displaying both nativist and syncretic tendencies.

Whether aesthetics are principally nativist or syncretist, the aesthetics of decolonisation have invariably been informed by a contestation of the leading ideological currents of the time. Positions taken by artists have been affected by political developments and often evolved over time. Some artists demonstrated significant shifts from the euphoric promise of emergent nation states to that of its fracture (e.g. Okeke). Alternately some moved from a self-conscious articulation of inclusive national identity towards a more personalised, universal aesthetic (e.g. el Salahi). Still others maintained a consistency of vision of an egalitarian society even after the collapse of the revolutionary project (e.g. Ntiro).

2.3.1 Nativist aesthetics and their ideological currents

Nativist aesthetics include:

i) The adaption or reinvention of indigenous, ethnically or regionally associated signs or *motifs.* A well-known example is the Nsukka group's use of Igbo *uli* and *nsibidi* symbols.

ii) The actual or simulated application of *techniques.* Examples include Okeke's simulation of uli painting; Belkahia's simulation of henna tattoos, and his actual application of techniques learned

from leatherwork and copperware; and Nwoko's reconstruction of the archaic terra cotta techniques used for ancient Nok sculpture.

iii) The use of *materials* associated with indigenous cultural practices, e.g. Belkahia's use of henna, leather, and copper.

iv) The adaption and re-purposing of *material forms* of indigenous culture, as with Belkahia's use of traditional Moroccan crafts to displace the western convention of the rectangular wall painting.

v) The visual representation of *oral sources* of indigenous knowledge. This can take the form of an emphasis on local myths, as in works by Lasekan, Okeke, and Tall; and historicised memories, as in Lasekan and Diallo's reconstructed accounts of precolonial wars and Diallo's commemoration of anti-colonial histories. Such works utilise a wide range of visual idioms. Some tend towards the fantastic, as with Okeke's archiving and illustration of Igbo folk tales, as well as in Lasekan's depictions of Yoruba myths. Or they display strongly decorative qualities, as in Tall's ornamentative style. Other works such as Diallo's epic battlescenes with dramatic skies lean towards the romantic and heroic, whereas Lasekan's understated, illustrative approach to Yoruba chronicles deploy more realist techniques that assume at times a didactic character, with educational and cultural motives underpinning his narrative accounts of Yoruba culture.

vi) Narrative *denunciations* of colonial injustices. Congolese painter Tshibumba's use of 'naive', 'popular' sign painting techniques to narrate the history of Belgian colonial oppression provide a celebrated example of this orientation.

vii) Narrative accounts of the *heroism* of anti-colonial struggles. These range from Okeke's emotive *Aba Women's Protest* to Diallo's deadpan narratives of Blaise Diagne (1872-1934).

viii) The representation of *postcolonial dystopia* is evident in Okeke's chronicles of the Biafran War and Tshibumba's narrative accounts of the assassination of Patrice Lumumba (1925-61)). Further examples include works produced in Uganda during the Obote and Amin regimes, where metaphor and hyperbole were used to express horror at the widespread atrocities.[263]

Nativist aesthetics reflect a range of ideological positions. These include:

i) *Patriotic nationalisms* where cultural signs associated with local, regional or national culture affirm the rich cultural identity of the (new) nation-state. Examples include the 'southerner' Nwoko's use of 'northern' Nok sculpture; and the inclusive Sudanese aesthetic of el Salahi's early works. The Christian

[263] W. Nyachae, "Uganda: Visual prose", in Deliss op.cit. Pp.167-177.

Okeke's incorporation of Islamic motifs in some early works, noting the Northern Nigerian demographic, can also be viewed in this light.

ii) *Ethno-nationalisms* which displace the state as the primary locus of national identity. Examples include Okeke's Igbo ethno-nationalism.

iii) *Trans-national decolonial imaginaries* rooted in cultural nationalisms such as Black and/or African identities. Examples include the pan-Africanist/Negritudinist aesthetics of Enwonwu; and Nwoko's mix of Egyptian and Nigerian iconography. These impulses are generally utopian in orientation and tend towards precolonial imaginaries.

2.3.2 Syncretic aesthetics and their ideological currents

Syncretic aesthetic tendencies display the following characteristics:

i) The wholesale adoption of *formal conventions* associated with the cultural traditions of the colonising power (such as easel painting and tapestry), along with their associated materials and conventions of display, which are then infused with local or nationalist content. Examples include the paintings of Okeke, el Salahi, Shibrain, and Ntiro; and the tapestries of Tall.

ii) The use of *aesthetic genres and idioms* associated with the culture of the coloniser. Examples include the portraiture of Onanolu, the landscape painting of Ntiro, and history painting of Diallo. One can also consider the appropriation of *styles* such as the deployment of naturalism/realism by Akintola, and abstraction in works by el Salahi, Okeke, and Tall.In all these examples Western idioms are adapted to manifest local or nationalist content.

iii) The deliberate *delinking* of cultural references to the western coloniser, with emphasis on bringing local content or forms into dialogue with non-western cultural forms. Examples include Shibrain's Islamicism, and el Belkahia's Morocannity.

Syncretic aesthetics manifest in critical dialogue with a range of ideological positions. Invariably they articulate supra-national identities that:

i) Reflect the *assimilation of cultural capital* historically associated with the coloniser. Examples include the Africanised Christian paintings of Ntiro and Okeke; and the theorisation of hybrid identities that draw substantially on western modernist conventions and discourses as we see with the formulations of Natural Synthesis and Senghorian Negritude.

ii) Directly *complement* the stated political

objectives of the artist's newly independent nation-state. Examples include the African socialist imaginary of Ntiro; and the Islamicised Sudanese aesthetic of Shibrain.

iii) Articulate *internationalist* apirations of (Black/African) cultural nationalism, e.g. Pan-Africanist and Negritudinist aesthetics. While this may appear nativist, this approach is syncretic in that artists deliberately assimilate a range of cultural sources beyond their immediate local, national or regional context. These sources can be real and/or imagined.

2.3.3 Interventions in the public realm

It is a feature of many of the pioneering African modernists that they were visible in the public sphere, beyond their work as artists exhibiting in galleries.

A few of the decolonial pioneers prioritised *public art* interventions. For Belkahia and the Casablanca Group/ Nativists public art was a deliberate strategy to challenge the hegemonic trope of gallery-centred art and to root art among 'ordinary' people. Ntiro's extensive output of public murals (many co-produced with Elias Jengo) represented an interest to locate art within the Tanzanian everyday. Demas Nwoko's shift from painting to architecture can also be seen in this light.

Many of the pioneering African modernists were *teachers* – Onabolu, Lasekan, Okeke (Nigeria), Tall, Iba N'Diaye

(Senegal), Belkahia (Morocco), Ntiro (Uganda, Tanzania), El Salahi, Shibrain (Sudan). This observation provides evidence of their self-awareness as an avant-garde tasked with the historical responsibility to contribute to the development of their field.

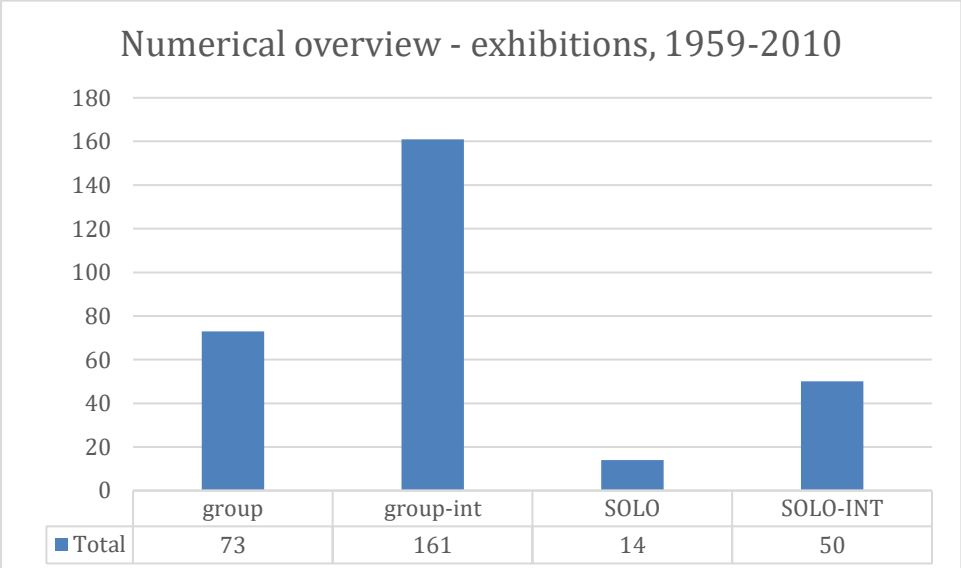
Pioneering modernists were often highly visible *public intellectuals*. They were in the vanguard of a western educated intellectual class. Consequently, they became important interlocutors. Ben Enwonwu became art advisor to the governments of colonial and postcolonial Nigeria. El Salahi presented a television programme and was a cultural advisor to Unesco. Ntiro was a cultural commissioner in President Nyerere's government and the first High Commissioner to London for Tanganyika. Enwonwu, Ntiro and Okeke published texts on matters of artistic and cultural relevance. A few found themselves at odds with postcolonial regimes - Okeke headed the visual arts section of the secessionist Biafran movement; El Salahi was jailed by the postcolonial regime and went into exile.

2.3.4 Implications for a study of Malangatana

These examples highlight that the cultural capital of decolonial artists was mediated through aesthetics and extra-artistic social functions. Further, that while general observations can be made, social contexts differed and individual responses were nuanced. The value of a broad survey of Malangatana's peers is in the providing of a comparative framework – this will become evident in subsequent chapters, and is elaborated upon in the conclusion.

CHARTING EXHIBITION PATHWAYS

This chapter surveys Malangatana's extensive exhibition output, spanning the anti/colonial, post-independence/revolutionary and globalisation periods. It pays particular attention to the geo-political and geo-cultural range of his exhibitions in order to illuminate the extent of his global reach, as well as the scope of his presence as an exhibiting artist within Mozambique. This mapping establishes a historical basis for an analysis of factors enabling, impeding and shaping the artist's career; and lays the groundwork for understanding the transformation of 'Malangatana' into a charged polemic sign.



Graph illustrates the number of exhibitions held during the artist's lifetime. A distinction is made between solo and group exhibitions, and between international exhibitions and those held in Mozambique. This pattern, whereby international exhibitions dominate and group exhibitions exceed solo exhibitions, remained constant throughout the artist's career.

3.1 Points of entry

Mozambique's most celebrated artist, Malangatana (1936-2011) was a prolific artist whose career spanned over 50 years. He exhibited in 40 countries during his lifespan.[264] This included perhaps as many as 64 solo exhibits in 15 countries, and participation in approximately 234 group exhibitions across the globe.[265] He received prestigious awards not only from the Mozambican government[266] but also from the governments of Bulgaria,[267] Brazil,[268] Portugal[269] and France,[270] as well as

---

[264] For purposes of this calculation, countries that have undergone major transitions such as Rhodesia/Zimbabwe and Germany (formerly divided into East and West) have been treated as single entities. Madeira has been treated as a part of Portugal, whereas Macau has been listed separately.

[265] For purposes of quantifying numerically, travelling exhibitions have been treated as multiple entities. The difficulties in constructing an accurate record is discussed in the introductory chapter.

[266] Medalha Nachingwea, 1984. E. Lemos, A. Cabral, J. Navarro, et al. *Malangatana.* Maputo: Museu Nacional de Arte, 1986, p.51. Order of Eduardo Mondlane, First Class, 2006. F. Jamisse "Malangatana pertence ao mundo e a sua arte é Património da Humanidade". Maputo: *Domingo,* 11 June 2006, p.14.

[267] Awarded to the artist in 1987, the year of his exhibition in Bulgaria. A. Aresta (ed), *Malangatana: Nota biografica*. Maputo: Escola Portuguêsa de Moçambique, 2005, p.25.

[268] Order of the Southern Cross (Ordem do Cruzeiro do Sul), 1990. Ibid.

[269] In 1995 Malangatana was inducted as a Grand Official of the Order of Infante D. Henrique. Anon. "Correntes d'Escrita Abre com Malangatana". Maputo: *Zambeze*, 17 February 2005.

[270] The French Ambassador in Mozambique conferred on Malangatana the distinction of "Comendador das Artes e Letras". Anon. "Pelo Governo Frances: Malangatana condecorado". Maputo: *Noticias,* 21 September 2007, p.1.

from Unesco,[271] and the Prince Claus Foundation.[272] Despite limited formal education Malangatana received Honorary Doctorates from universities in Mozambique[273] and Portugal,[274] and honorary awards from professional academies in Italy[275] and Portugal,[276] as well as the International Association of Art Critics (AICA).[277]

---

[271] Malangatana was appointed Unesco's Artist for Peace in 1997.

[272] Mia Couto presented the eulogy. M. Couto, "Malangatana, the man who painted water". Harare: *Gallery*, n.15, 1998, pp.13-14.

[273] Malangatana received an honorary doctorate from ISPU in 2007. R. Machava, "Na Arte, Communicação e Linguagem: Malangatana é Doutor Honoris Causa". Maputo: *O Pais*, 14 September 2007, p.14; R. Senda, "Valeu a Pena Viver". Maputo: *Savana*, 14 September 2007, p.30; G. Filipe, "Malangatana: Uma 'honorios' que ultrapassa toda a causa de um so homem". Maputo: *Noticias Cultura* [supplement], 19 September 2007, p.2; Anon. "Malangatana Doutor Honoris Causa". Maputo: *TVZine*, October 2007, p. 45.

[274] Anon. "Malangatana Honoris Causa". Maputo: *Noticias*, 6 January 2010, p.1; E. Bernardo, "Malangatana recebe doutoramento honoris causa em Portugal". Maputo: *Savana,* 19 February 2010, p.17; M. Rebelo de Sousa, "Malangatana". Maputo: *Savana,* 26 February 2010, p.7; Anon. "Malangatana recebe distinção/ Malangatana honoured". Maputo: *Border Post*, 26 February 2010, p.10.

[275] Malangatana's biographies make enigmatic references to an honorary award from the "Academie Tomasse Campanella Artes e Ciências". Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.51. This award was mentioned in passing in a contemporary report that focused on his receipt of a Gulbenkian scholarship. Anon. "Duas Consagrações Internacionais para Malangatana Ngwenha". Lourenco Marques: *Brado Africano*, 17 October 1970, p.1.

[276] Malangatana was one of four African intellectuals admitted to the Academy of Sciences, Lisbon, 2009. Anon. "Pintor Malangatana na Academia de Ciências". Maputo: *Noticias*, 16 September 2009, p.27; Anon. "Malangatana Toma Posse na Academia de Ciências de Lisboa". Maputo: *Noticias*, 10 November 2009, p.11; Anon. "Malangatana: 'Quero deixar um contributo' na Academia de Ciências de Lisboa". Maputo: *O Pais,* 2 November 2009, p.32.

[277] J. Navarro, "'Foi a Primeira Exposição África no Chile' – conta-nos Malangatana". Maputo: *Domingo*, 25 December 1994, p.16.

Literature on Malangatana frequently affirms his international standing. It is particularly apparent in Mozambican accounts that perceptions of his international success play a significant role in his elevation as a national hero. As will be discussed in the following chapter (4.4.3), he is in fact often referred to as an "ambassador of Mozambican culture",[278] "artistic ambassador",[279] or even straight "ambassador".[280] While there can be no doubt that Malangatana's accomplishments were extraordinary, it remains imperative to engage critically with the conditions that both enabled and constrained his career rather than to perpetuate an ahistorical, hagiographic approach that is regrettably evident in much of the literature on the artist.[281]

This analysis of the artist's exhibition career builds on several published biographies, usually presented in forms resembling a chronologically ordered curriculum vitae. These biographies appear in numerous catalogues,[282] as

---

[278] M. Couto, 1998, op.cit. P.13.

[279] J.N. [Júlio Navarro], "As Várias Fases da Obra de Malangatana (vii)". Maputo: *Tempo*, 15 June 1986, p.52; Rhandzarte, *9 Artistas de Moçambique: Expo '92*. Maputo: Museu Nacional de Arte de Moçambique, 1992, p.57.

[280] Couto, quoted by J. Matlhombe, "Malangatana na poesia". Maputo: *Savana*, 2 April 2004, p.31.

[281] Statements in Mozambican publications such as: "His paintings feature in the main art galleries of five continents" demonstrate a lack of understanding of the peripheral position of African artists in the Eurocentric art world. Anon. [*Indico*] p.21.

[282] E. Lemos, A. Cabral, J. Navarro, et al. *Malangatana.* Maputo: Museu Nacional de Arte, 1986; C. Carvalho, O. Vedor, P. Soares, et al. *Malangatana Valente Ngwenya*. Lisboa: Secretaria de Estado da Cultura, 1989; Rhandzarte op.cit.; F. Pereira, M. Vicente, M. Niederhuber-Jakel, et al. *Malangatana: Pintura, desenho, gravura, ceramic.*

well as in Navarro's monograph on Malangatana.[283] Seemingly the initial impetus to compile a fairly comprehensive listing of exhibitions came on the occasion of Malangatana's first retrospective exhibition in 1986.[284] Notable later versions include the booklet *Nota Biografica* which covers the artist's career until 1998,[285] and a select listing compiled in 2006 on the occasion of the artist's 70th birthday.[286] The University of Lisbon's *Art Africa* website lists exhibitions till 2009.[287] While these and other sources reflect information available at the time of their publication, they are strikingly similar in content. Entries are typically scanty in detail, and usually lack precise information. Generally, individual and group exhibitions are differentiated, and listed with little more than their year and country. Cities are sometimes indicated, and gallery names, where these appear, are seldom accurate. Later versions, on the whole, repeat the formulations of earlier records and seldom provide further detail. Numerous errors are repeated, often verbatim. There is a general consistency regarding omissions of particular exhibitions, suggesting that their existence was not known or noted in earlier versions.

The challenge in making sense of Malangatana's exhibition history is compounded by the fact that a significant number of his exhibitions were not accompanied with

---

Lisboa: ISPA, 2004; A. Sopa, *Malangatana: 70 anos, vida e obra.* Maputo: Os Amigos de Malangatana, 2006.

[283] Navaro, 2003, op.cit.

[284] Lemos et al. Op.cit.

[285] Aresta op.cit.

[286] Sopa, 2006, op.cit.

[287] Online: http://artafrica.letras.ulisboa.pt/pt/artist/207.html

catalogues and very few were reviewed. Many of the catalogues and reviews that were produced are rare and difficult to access. Texts appear in several languages, mostly Portuguese. English texts are comparatively scarce. Accordingly, the exact nature, content and impact of many exhibitions is difficult to establish, particularly for anglophone researchers. While this chapter is principally concerned with analysing and interpreting Malangatana's exhibition output, the sheer incompleteness of published biographies has compelled it to be simultaneously concerned with contributing to a more accurate and substantive record of exhibitions.

Malangatana's exhibition career has been divided into three parts for the purposes of this analysis. Each section coincides with a historical period. These periods should not be understood as representing three distinct phases in the development of his art, mirrored in abrupt changes in his works. Rather they serve to highlight significant shifts in the broader historical context, where changing conditions impacted on the possibilities available to him as an artist. These temporal frames have been introduced to facilitate the identification of patterns across a long career, patterns which would be harder to discern if a fifty year career was treated as one homogenous era; or if one fragmented his career into a multitude of small parts, as done by Navarro.[288] That

[288] Initially outlined in J.N. [Júlio Navarro], "As Várias Fases da Obra de Malangatana (i)". Maputo: *Tempo*, 4 May 1986, p.52. Subsequently elaborated over seven consecutive editions of the weekly magazine. Seemingly, Navarro's motive was to stress Malangatana's importance by highlighting periods, in the way that artists such as Picasso have been treated by art historians. Whereas Picasso's

each of these broad periods can be broken down into particular phases, and that some patterns or themes extend or reoccur in subsequent phases is self-evident.

The first period spans the years from Malangatana's initial participation in a public exhibition in 1959 until 1974, the year of the political coup in Portugal. For ease of reference this will be referred to as the anti/colonial period.

The second period covers the years from Mozambican political independence until the end of the Cold War in 1989. The Cold War was equally important for the earlier (anti/colonial) period, when the West's anti-communist agenda fuelled the colonial regime in Mozambique and buttressed its allies Rhodesia and South Africa. However, the nature of the impact of the Cold War on foreign relations took a major turn in the post-independence period due to Frelimo's adoption of Marxist-Leninism as state ideology. The end of the Cold War heralded the death throes of the Civil War that devastated postcolonial Mozambique, although the official termination of this war would drag on until the National Peace Accord in 1992.[289] 1989 was also the year that

---

periods are denoted by significant stylistic changes, Navarro relies largely on biography to frame different 'phases.'

[289] One of the consequences of the end of the Cold War was the change in the political regime in South Africa following the unbanning of the liberation movements early in 1990. This led to the withdrawal of South African support for Renamo, contributing decisively towards the end of the Civil War. Many Mozambican nationalists have resisted calling this conflict a civil war, since the war was instigated by external forces. Furthermore, for many Mozambicans the brutality of Renamo denied it the respect of being called an army, as is evident in the popular use of the term 'armed bandits.' However, external

Frelimo formally abandoned Marxism-Leninism, paving the way for the new constitution in 1990. Accordingly, I have termed this period the post independence/ revolutionary period for ease of reference, although it can be argued that the Revolution was displaced by neo-liberalism earlier in the 1980s.

The third phase deployed here is the post-Cold War period that is commonly referred to as the era or age of globalisation. For the purposes of this study this extends until 2010, the eve of the artist's death (5 January 2011).

The introduction of these three periods as a framing device enables a reading of changing national and international relations that were critical in shaping the horizons available to Malangatana. Exhibitions held within and beyond the national borders, while inter-dependent, are treated separately, in order that the national and global reach of Malangatana can be more closely examined. Solo exhibitions are distinguished from group exhibitions, since they carry a different burden of representation. It is assumed that divergent publics developed around Malangatana's works, and that these can be identified not only between the national and international, but also across and within them.

---

origins and senseless violence were also a feature of other historical conflicts that are commonly referred to as civil wars, hence my decision to use this contested term. See journalist Carlos Cardoso's argument against using the term 'civil war' to describe the conflict. P. Fauvet and M. Mosse, *Carlos Cardoso: Telling the truth in Mozambique*. Cape Town: Double Storey, 2003, p.84.

3.2 The anti/colonial period (1959-1974)

This period commences with Malangatana's first exhibition and extends until 1974, the year of the Portuguese coup. Key historical and biographical milestones include the formation of Frelimo (1962), the launch of the armed struggle (1964), Malangatana's imprisonment (1965-1966), and the artist's first major international sojourn (Portugal 1971-1972).

3.2.1 Exhibitions in Mozambique, 1959-1974

Malangatana's exhibition career began soon after his brief attendance of classes at Núcleo de Arte, a local art centre that was a hub of art activity in Lourenço Marques. At the time he was working as a barman for the Lourenço Marques Club, a social site for the colonial elite. One of the club's patrons, the biologist Augusto Cabral, encouraged and supported the nascent potential of the young Malangatana and facilitated his attendance of evening classes at Núcleo de Arte.[290] Malangatana participated in three group exhibitions in Lourenço Marques in 1959: one as a fundraiser for the art centre;[291] another in the local 'salon';[292] and the third in a show organised by a non-racial organisation, the

[290] Cabral later served as director of the Natural History Museum. Matusse op.cit. P.49.

[291] *Angariação de Fundos para o Núcleo de Arte*, Edifício das Associações Económicas.

[292] *Salão de Artes Plásticas,* Casa da Metrópole. According to Alda Costa a catalogue was produced for this exhibition. Email correspondence, 5 January 2019.

Associação dos Naturais de Moç*ambique.*[293] The subsequent patronage of the young Malangatana by the architect Miranda 'Pancho' Guedes (1925-2015) enabled him to become a full-time artist, an almost unprecedented status for a Mozambican artist, and this led to his first solo exhibition in 1961, a critical and commercial success.[294]

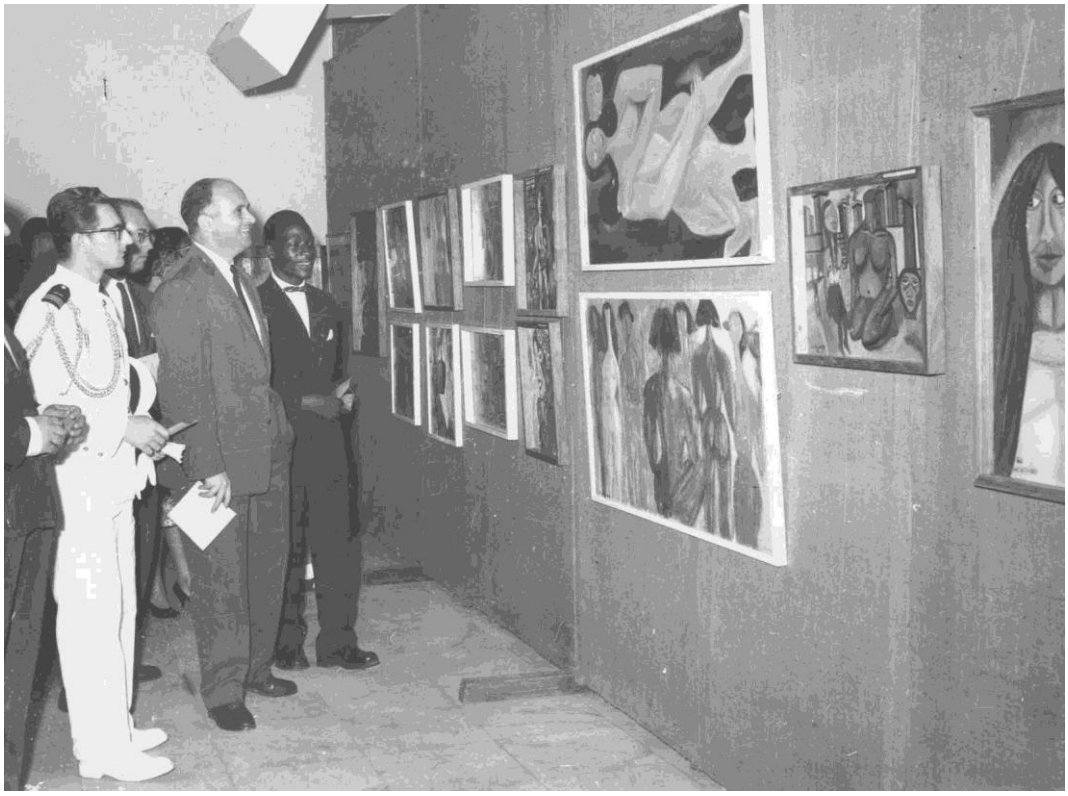
Malangatana enjoyed something of a meteoric rise in his international career between the advent of his solo exhibition and his imprisonment in 1965 by the Portuguese security police (PIDE) on suspicion of anti-colonial (Frelimo) activities. Within this brief period his work may have featured in as many as 13 group exhibitions and three solo shows, in nine countries on four continents.[295] In contrast, he only exhibited three times in Mozambique during this period, and these were limited to group

---

[293] *I Concurso de Artes Plásticas,* Associação dos Naturais de Moçambique. Malangatana received an Honorable Mention at this exhibition. Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.51. The ANM was "originally formed by white Mozambicans, but by the 1950s had opened its membership to all ethnic groups." Houser and Shore op.cit. P.18.

[294] Held at the Edifício das Associações Económicas. Copies of the catalogue for this seminal exhibition, titled *Malangatana Goenha Valente*, appear to not be held by any public institution. Despite this anomaly, Guedes's short catalogue essay has been routinely quoted from in most of the artist's major catalogues since 1986, as well as in Navarro, 2003, op.cit. Excerpts were also incorporated into a contemporary review of the exhibition. Anon. [A.F.], "Duas Exposições". Lourenço Marques: *A Voz de Moçambique*, n.25/26, 15 April 1961, pp.6,10. Alexandre Pomar has posted select pages of the original catalogue online, from photographs he took of the copy belonging to Guedes. See A. Pomar, "Malangatana: Os titulos de 1961". Alexandre Pomar, 3 March 2011. Online: http://alexandrepomar.typepad.com/alexandre_pomar/2011/03/malangatana-1961.html .

[295] Difficulties in verifying some of his early exhibitions are detailed in 3.2.2.1



Malangatana's first solo exhibition, 1961. The artist is accompanied by the Governor of the District of Lourenço-Marques, Vasco Rodrigues, who opened the exhibition.

Source: CasaComum.org, http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_116870 (2019-2-4)

exhibitions, all in Lourenço Marques.[296] For the second of these exhibitions, organised as part of official commemorations of the colonial capital, the artist won first prize for his painting *Humanidade*.[297]

There appears to be a direct relationship between the period of Malangatana's 18 months of imprisonment (1965-1966) and his reduced visibility in exhibitions, nationally and internationally. There are no recorded exhibitions for 1965, only one (international) exhibition in 1966, and none in 1967. Prison itself, ironically, was

[296] Held at the Centro de Informação e Turismo, 1961; Câmara Municipal, 1962; and Centro Associativo dos Negros da Província de Moçambique, 1964.

[297] Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.51.

a rich artistic experience,[298] although this body of work would take 50 years to receive proper attention.[299]

Malangatana's resurgence as an exhibiting artist began in 1968, with three group exhibitions in Lourenço Marques and its surrounds. One of these, which he participated in organising, was part of an inaugural arts festival in his home village.[300] Another was with Núcleo de Arte,[301] and the other was ostensibly a commemorative event for Portuguese rule that was held in the Municipal Hall, for which his painting *Última Ceia* [Last Supper] earned him second prize.[302] He participated in a subsequent Salon exhibit at the art centre the following year, as well as in a second exhibition at the municipal hall, this time commemorating Vasco da Gama, a symbol of Portuguese imperialism.[303] Malangatana sustained his public resurgence by holding his second (Mozambican) solo exhibition at Núcleo de Arte in 1970,[304] and in the same year participated in a group show at the Associação Africana da Provincia de Moçambique.[305]

---

[298] See 5.2.3 and 5.3.

[299] It was only in 2007 that the prison drawings were exhibited as a body of work. A. Caldeira and F. André (eds), *Desenhos de Prisão: Malangatana*. Lisboa: Fundação Mário Soares, 2006.

[300] *I Festival de Arte Matalana.*

[301] *I Salão de Arte Moderna,* Núcleo de Arte.

[302] Lemos et al, op cit. P.51. The exhibition was titled *Commemorações do 24 Julho*. These celebrations commemorate The Battle of São Mamede (1128), a significant point in the evolution of Portugal as an independent nation.

[303] *Salão de Agosto*, Núcleo de Arte, Lourenço Marques, and *V Centenário de Vasco da Gama*, Câmara Municipal, Lourenço Marques. The latter exhibition is documented by a small catalogue.

[304] I. Rocha, "Breve Advertencia: A proposito dos trabalhos de Malangatana". Lourenco Marques: Núcleo de Arte, 1970.

[305] Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.49.

Malangatana's second Mozambican solo exhibition, Núcleo de Arte 1970.
Source: CasaComum.org, http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_116550 (2019-2-10)

Less than ten years on from his debut solo exhibition, Malangatana had established enough of a profile to earn himself a scholarship to Portugal. The award from the Gulbenkian Foundation presented the young painter a significant opportunity to broaden his horizons by offering him his first real exposure to a world outside of Mozambique,[306] and by providing for training in etching and ceramics, media he was not proficient in. Following his departure in 1971 his international career picked up once again. Echoing the pattern in the early 1960s when the frequency of international exhibitions exceeded local showings, his output in Mozambique during the last years of colonial rule was comparatively modest. There was one

[306] Malangatana's previous international travel was limited to his briefly sojourn in Swaziland while on the run from PIDE. See Caldeira and André op.cit. P.81.

Malangatana's post-Gulbenkian scholarship solo exhibition at Gallery Coop, 1972. The exhibition was opened by the Governor General Engº Pimentel dos Santos.

Source: CasaComum.org, http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_116556 (2019-2-4)

solo exhibition in Mozambique in 1972 on his return from Portugal,[307] and he participated in four group shows in Mozambique in the late anti/colonial period. Notably, at a time when his career in Portugal was nascent, none of these local group shows were in official (colonial) venues, unlike the majority of his early Mozambican exhibitions. Instead they were held at his home village

[307] He exhibited drawings, ceramics, engravings at Salão Coop, Lourenco Marques. Reported on in *O Cooperador de* Moç*ambique*, Lourenço Marques, April 1972. This report includes the opening address by artist Garizo do Carmo, where reference is made to an exhibition catalogue.

Matalana;[308] the Associação dos Naturais de Moçambique;[309] the home gallery of his contemporary, the wood sculptor Alberto Chissano (1935-1994);[310] and, presumably after the coup in Portugal, at Núcleo de Arte as a fund-raiser for former political prisoners.[311]

The young Malangatana appears to have been an artist who took advantage of opportunities to exhibit and also created new ones. His modest exhibition record in Mozambique during the anti/colonial period, contrasted with his prolific output, implies limited exhibition opportunities available to Mozambican artists. As a popular and respected member of Núcleo de Arte, the leading artists organisation of the time, it can be assumed that he was not particularly prejudiced as a black Mozambican when it came to exhibiting his work in the settler-dominated art circuit.[312] This is evidenced not only in his frequent exhibitions at Núcleo de Arte, but also in his participation in annual exhibitions in the Municipal Hall, where he won prizes that were not circumscribed by conditions such as race, age or other qualifications, as was the case for many pioneering black South African modernists. Over and above the dominant art

---

[308] *II Festival de Arte de Matalana*, 1972.

[309] *38.° Aniversário da Associação dos Naturais de Moçambique,* ANM, 1973.

[310] Most biographies date this exhibition as 1974. See, for example, Lemos et al. Op cit. P.49. However, a contemporary press article suggests that this exhibition was already on view in December 1973. *Tempo* n.171, 23 December 1973.

[311] Sopa, 2006, op.cit.

[312] Malangatana is commonly credited as having "broke[n] through the racial barriers". A. Schwartzott, "Conceptual, Temporal, and Tangible: Discursive spaces of contemporary art in Maputo". *Critical Interventions*, v.8 n.2, 2014, p.235.

circuit, Malangatana's links to his rural village, his membership of several associations established for (or open to) black Mozambicans, as well as his personal relationship with his black peers such as Chissano, all introduced exhibition opportunities over and above those that may have been open to him if he were of settler descent. While there is the hint of a partial retreat from using official venues following his imprisonment, his ability to exhibit within divergent settings suggests an ability to adapt to different contexts and to be read in many ways by a heterogeneous audience. This quality would become more pronounced when considering his international career, and amplified throughout his lifetime.

3.2.2 International exhibitions, 1961-1974

An analysis of Malangatana's international career demands close scrutiny in order to surface critical patterns that are obtusely concealed in his exhibition listings. Within the anti/colonial period there was an initial flurry of international exhibitions, followed by an almost abrupt decline that coincided with the period of the artist's imprisonment, and a gradual re-emergence that preceded and followed his Gulbenkian scholarship.

3.2.2.1 A rapid ascent, 1961-1964

Malangatana experienced something of a rapid ascent internationally in the years immediately following his inaugural solo exhibition. Not many artists from this time can be said to have exhibited so widely at such an early point in their careers. Between 1961 and 1964

Malangatana exhibited in South Africa, Nigeria, Rhodesia, Angola, France, England, Pakistan, India and, possibly, the USA. His global reach is all the more striking for his relative inexperience and his location in an African country with no real infrastructure to promote its art and artists, let alone a Portuguese colony with little interest in nurturing the artistic career of a colonised subject.

The artist's biographies routinely list his first international exhibition, a group show, as *Imagination '61*. The venue is identified as the University of Cape Town, and the exhibition dated 1961. Absent from all major South African art historical accounts, *Imagination '61* was an ambitious arts festival organised by the University. Activities were spread across central Cape Town, including but not limited to UCT's main and Hiddingh Hall campuses.[313] According to the artist, Guedes took some of the unsold works from his inaugural solo exhibition to *Imagination '61*.[314] From the festival programme we can deduce that these paintings were featured in an exhibition comprising contemporary African art and child art from Germany.[315] While this may appear an odd combination, it was in fact consistent with the

[313] A 44-page programme was printed for this event. University of Cape Town, *Imagination '61: A festival of arts*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1961.

[314] Malangatana, "Pancho Guedes by Malangatana", in A. Pomar, R.M. Pereira, A. Costa, et al. *As Áfricas de Pancho Guedes*. Lisboa: Câmara Municipal, 2011, p.61.

[315] The catalogue presents the exhibition title as *Exhibition of Art in Africa To-Day and of German Child Art* (sic). The African content is described as paintings, graphics and sculptures from Nigeria, Lourenço Marques, Rhodesia and Brazzaville. University of Cape Town op.cit. P.38.

conflation of 'primitive' and child art that was a feature of post-Romantic Western art discourse.

Exhibitions in South Africa feature intermittently throughout the artist's career, a not entirely surprising observation given the historical relations between the two neighbouring countries.[316] A Mozambican newspaper from 1962 refers to a second South African exhibition in 1961,[317] but oddly this event is not mentioned in any of the artist's biographies. Instead, the next South African exhibition listed is invariably that of Mozambican artists at Gallery 101 in Johannesburg.[318] Most biographies erroneously date this exhibition to 1963,[319] although the correct date is 1964.[320] Malangatana's early southern African exhibitions were not limited to the Apartheid state. He was featured in the seminal *1st International Congress of African Culture South of the*

---

316 This relationship impacted on Malangatana in his early years, with his father a migrant worker in the Johannesburg mining industry.

317 The exhibition is identified as *Exposição União Cultural Recreativa e Desportiva Portuguêsa – Núcleo*. This suggests the involvement of Núcleo de Arte in organising this exhibition, which appears to be linked to the Portuguese community in South Africa. See Anon. "Malangatana Valente – O pintor e a sua história". Beira: *Voz Africana*, 16 June 1962.

318 Gallery 101 (1961-1973) was an important platform for South African art. See Haenggi Foundation. "The Johannesburg Art Scene from the 60's to the 90's". Online: www.pelmama.org/Johannesburg_artscene_Gallery101_history.htm

319 Lemos et al, op cit. P.49; Carvalho et al, op cit. P.178; and Aresta op.cit. P.27.

320 A printed invitation to Gallery 101's "first South African exhibition … by 10 artists from Mozambique" provides the correct date, and this is corroborated by Gallery 101 archives posted online http://www.art-archives-southafrica.ch/PDFs/Mo%C3%A7ambique_1964_Gallery101_imgs.pdf

Sahara (ICAC) at the Rhodesian National Gallery in 1962,[321] and at an industrial fair in Luanda in 1964.[322]

Despite the artist's forays into southern Africa, his first international solo exhibition was in Nigeria. Entries for his Nigerian debut are sometimes confusing, owing to the fact that in 1961 photographs of Malangatana's paintings were exhibited at the Mbari Writers' and Artists' Club in Ibadan, alongside photographs of Zulu vernacular architecture and architecture by Guedes, under the title *Seen in South Africa*.[323] This event is frequently confused with Malangatana's first solo exhibition in Nigeria,[324] which took place at the Mbari Club in Ibadan in 1962. From there it moved to Mbari Mbayo, the recently inaugurated Mbari club in Oshogbo.[325] The impact of his showing at the Mbari club, a pan-Africanist hub for writers, artists and

---

[321] F. McEwen, *Exhibitions on the Occasion of the First International Congress of African Culture*. Salisbury: National Gallery, 1962.

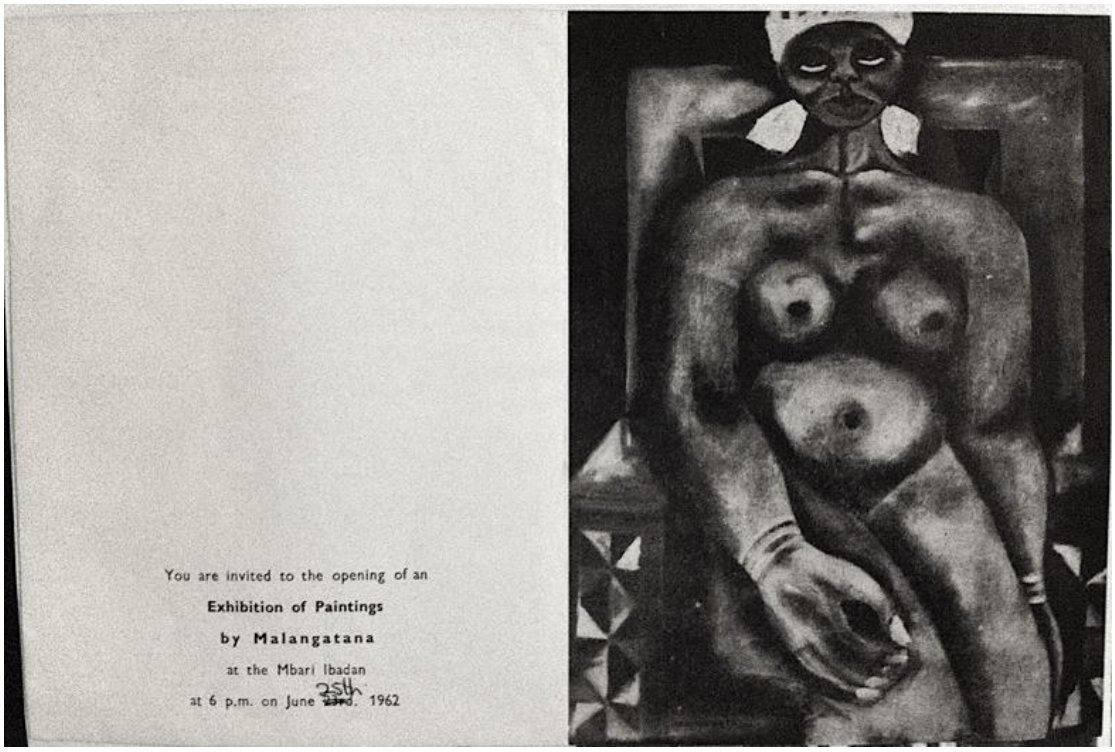
[322] A modest exhibition catalogue is titled *Arte Moçambicana: Exposição de arte Moçambicana no Pavilhão de Moçambique na feira industrial de Luanda*, 1963. The catalogue contains an uncharacteristic disclaimer that due to limited resources the exhibit may not represent the best in Mozambican art.

[323] A. Pomar, "Ulli Beier e Moçambique". *Alexandre Pomar* [blog], 1 May, 2011. Online: https://alexandrepomar.typepad.com/alexandre_pomar/moambique/atom.xml

[324] See, for example, Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.49; Carvalho et al. Op.cit. P.179; Aresta op.cit. P.27; and Sopa, 2006, op.cit.

[325] The Mbari club was initially located at the University of Ibadan, where Beier was employed. This accounts for numerous entries that erroneously identify "M'bari University" as the venue. See P. Mamede, "Da Lenda para a Arte". Beira: *Voz Africana*, 16 May 1970, p.8; Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.49; Carvalho et al. Op.cit. P.178; Aresta op.cit. P.27; and Sopa, 2006, op.cit.

other creatives,[326] would have a long-lasting impact on both his visibility and the manner in which his work would be interpreted, as will become evident later.



Invitation to Malangatana's first international exhibition, Mbari Ibadan, Nigeria, 1962.
Source: https://alexandrepomar.typepad.com/alexandre_pomar/moambique/atom.xml

Beyond Africa, Malangatana's biographies list early exhibitions in India and Pakistan, and here the details are particularly difficult to establish. An exhibition in Karachi is consistently dated as 1962, and the Indian exhibitions are usually identified as one in New Delhi in 1962 and another in Calcutta in 1963.[327] The Calcutta

[326] For a detailed account of the Mbari project, see P. Benson, *Black Orpheus, Transition, and Modern Cultural Awakening in Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

[327] New Dehli and Calcutta are listed by Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.49; Carvalho et al. Op.cit. P.179; and Aresta op.cit. P.27. However, New Delhi, and not Calcutta, is listed in Sopa, 2006, op.cit. Carvalho et al. date New Dehli as 1963. The earliest references to the Pakistan

exhibition is said to have been at the Academy of Fine Arts, and to have featured three (unnamed) artists.[328] An article in Cape Town-based literary magazine *The New African* identifies the artists as Uche Okeke, el Salahi and Malangatana, and dates the Calcutta exhibition as October 1962, along with the observation that this was the first exhibition of contemporary African art to be held in India.[329] Alexandre Pomar, a Portuguese art critic and researcher, has drawn attention to a Beier authored catalogue for an exhibition by the same trio for the Jehangir Art Gallery in Bombay (now Mumbai). To confuse matters, the date (1964) is later than the one customarily cited for the Indian exhibitions, and none of Malangatana's biographies mention Bombay.[330] While there

---

and Indian exhibitions in the Mozambican press may have been as late as 1970. Anon. "Malangatana Valente Ngwenya: O artista Moçambicano que muitos julgam inspirado na arte de Chagall, embora com caracteristicas predominantemente Africanas". Lourenço Marques: *Facho Sonap* [Sociedade Nacional de Petroleos de Moçambique], n.5, August 1970.

[328] Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.49; and Aresta op.cit. P.27. I have failed to verify the existence of an institution by that name. An unpublished document in the archives of Musart links the "Academy of Fine Arts" to the "I.C.C.R. – Calcutta Centre". See "Excerpts from Reviews and Exhibitions by the Artist", Malangatana box files, document 80, Musart. It is possible that the venue was a gallery within the Rabindranath Tagore Centre, the "cultural flagship" of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations. See Tagore Centre website, http://www.tagorecentreiccr.org/index.html

[329] Anon. "Three African Artists in Calcutta". Cape Town: *The New African*, January 1964, pp.12-13,24.

[330] U. Beier, *Exhibition of African Art: Salahi * Malangatana * Okeke, exhibition held at the Jehangir Art Gallery, Bombay 1964*. This item is listed on *Worldcat*, as noted by Alexandre Pomar, "Malangatana First Years". Alexandre Pomar, 16 October 2013. Online: http://alexandrepomar.typepad.com/alexandre_pomar/2013/10/malangatana-first-years.html *WorldCat* locates a single copy, held by Smithsonian Libraries, and

is corroborating evidence for Calcutta and possibly Bombay, neither Pomar nor myself have been able to verify the New Delhi exhibition. Adding to the uncertainty, Okeke's Wikipedia entry refers to a joint exhibition featuring Okeke, el Salahi and Malangatana, said to have taken place in India and Pakistan between 1963 and 1964, whereas Malangatana's Pakistan entries customarily give the date as 1962.[331]

While it has proven difficult to clarify the exact locale and dates for the Indian and Pakistan exhibitions, there does appear to be a link between these exhibitions and contemporaneous shows in Paris and London. These European exhibitions are routinely listed, with the customary lack of detail. It is highly probable that Malangatana's first showing in Paris was at the privately owned Galerie Lambert;[332] certainly Beier and Guedes were involved in arranging for Malangatana to exhibit at this venue.[333] It is likely that this was a joint exhibition with el Salahi.[334] Given the coupling of these two artists, at around the same time that Beier was exhibiting them alongside Okeke, it appears prudent to consider whether

---

the catalogue appears on the database of the Smithsonians's Warren Robbins Library, National Museum of African Art. In my visit to the library the item could not be traced.

[331] Wikipedia, "Uche Okeke". Online: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uche_Okeke

[332] Anon. "Malangatana vai expor em Paris e na Nigéria". Original Mozambican news source unknown, 19 November 1961 (sourced from Alda Costa).

[333] Ibid.

[334] References to a joint exhibition of el Salahi and Malangatana in Paris and London are made by Brown op.cit. P.46; and later Mount op.cit. P.161. Okeke-Agulu refers to exhibitions by el Salahi at this venue in 1963 and 1967, but gives no indication whether these were group or solo exhibits. Okeke-Agulu, 2015, op cit. P.306.

Okeke featured in the Paris show, although available evidence suggests not.[335] Rather, there appears to be more direct correlation between the Paris exhibit and Malangatana's London debut, a joint exhibition with el Salahi in 1963,[336] at the Institute for Contemporary Arts, a leading, experimentally inclined gallery.[337]

If there are unanswered questions about several of Malangatana's early international exhibitions, there is a big question mark hovering over a purported solo exhibition of drawings at the United Nations in New York in 1964. While it is plausible that such an exhibition took place, there appear to be no published references to this event outside of its routine listing, which seems to have first occurred as late as 1986.[338] A local report on

---

[335] Okeke's biography lists a show at this venue at this time. Wikipedia, "Uche Okeke", op cit. However, this may have been a joint exhibit between Okeke and Nwoko at Galerie Lambert in 1962, as referred to by Okeke-Agulu, 2015, op.cit. P.197. Noting that Brown (see preceding note) was also researching Okeke for her book, it appears likely that she would have mentioned him if this had been a three-person show.

[336] Anon. "2 Painters from Africa: Salahi & Malangatana". London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1963 [information sheet].

[337] The ICA is erroneously identified as the "African Art Institute" by Carvalho et al. Op.cit. P.178; and Aresta op.cit. P.27. The ICA exhibit is omitted in biographies by Lemos et al. Op.cit.; and Sopa, 2006, op.cit. The ICA show is highlighted in a posthumous article by Sopa, where it is incorrectly described as a joint exhibition "with the Sudanese Ibrahim Salah Okeke" (sic). A. Sopa, "O Mestre de Todas as Artes". Maputo: *Indico*, v.3, n.6, 2011, p.27.

[338] The UN exhibition is listed by Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.49; C. Carvalho, O. Vedor, P. Soares, et al. *Malanagatana Valente Ngwenya*. Lisboa: Secretária de Estado da Cultura, 1989, p.178; J. Navarro (ed), *Malangatana Valente Ngwenya.* Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2003, p.214; A. Aresta (ed), *Malangatana: Nota biográfica*. Maputo: Escola Portuguêsa de Moçambique- Centro de Ensino e Língua

the artist's career published in 1968 makes no mention of an exhibition at the UN.[339] In response to my query regarding the sources for the listing of this exhibition, archivist António Sopa (who catalogued Malangatana's personal library) speculated that the UN exhibition may have been in the form of photographs, a practice that occurred in the early years.[340]

Notwithstanding the confusion and limited information available on many of these early international exhibitions, a closer look produces some interesting observations, and introduces a number of important questions.

One striking observation is that, within a brief period (1961-1964), there was a significant showing of Malangatana in African countries. Apart from Mozambique, he exhibited in South Africa (Cape Town and Johannesburg), Rhodesia (Salisbury), Angola (Luanda), and Nigeria (Ibadan and Oshogbo). It can be observed that only one of these countries (Nigeria) was not under

---

Portuguêsa, 2005, p.28; A. Sopa, *Malangatana: 70 anos, vida e obra.* Maputo: Os Amigos de Malangatana, 2006; and R.A. Lourido (ed), *Malangatana: O homem e as obras.* Lisboa: União das Cidades Capitéis de Língua Portuguêsa, 2011, p.46; among others.

[339] Anon. "Como Vivem os Artistas em Lço. Marques. Malangatana Valente Ngwenya: A minha pintura é cheia de sombras negras como negros foram os meus dias". Lourenço Marques: *Noticias*, 1968. The artist himself omitted reference to the UN exhibition in a fairly comprehensive account of his career in the late colonial period. Anon. "Malangatana Dedicado a Temas de Pintura Inteiramente Africanos". Original source unknown, possibly *Brado Africano*, c. 1973.

[340] Interview, 11 September 2012. For an example of this practice, photographs of western modernists were exhibited alongside original African works at ICAC. See McEwen op.cit.

colonial/settler rule,[341] which means that most of his African exhibitions of the early 1960s should not be confused with post-independence euphoria. Indeed, this was a deeply repressive period in southern Africa, and yet his Cape Town, Salisbury and Luanda exhibitions were in state funded institutions; and his Johannesburg exhibition was organised in collaboration with colonial entities and opened by the Portuguese Consul General.[342] While questions could be asked regarding the extent to which the artist's images of 'witchcraft' (the dominant interpretation of his work at the time)[343] complemented colonial narratives, thus making him an unwitting 'ambassador' to propagate colonial friendly narratives of black superstition; another line of enquiry concerns the interventions of key individuals in promoting the artist.

Guedes' role in paving the way for Malangatana's first solo exhibition is well known and regularly acknowledged.[344] Less acknowledged is an informal network of Guedes' associates who, individually and collectively, played a decisive role in introducing Malangatana to

---

[341] This should perhaps be qualified. The British continued to play a significant role in the government administration until the 1966 coup.

[342] Gallery 101 op.cit. This document notes that the exhibition was co-organised by *O Seculo de Johanesburgo*, a newspaper published for the Portuguese community in South Africa; the Associação da Colonia Portuguesa; and Núcleo de Arte. A single painting by Malangatana was used to illustrate notification of the exhibition. Anon. "O Nosso Jornal Organiza Exposição de pintores de Moçambique." Johannesburg: *O Seculo de Johanesburgo*, 1964.

[343] See Beier's early text on Malangatana, produced for his inaugural international solo exhibition. U. Beier. "Valente Malangatana". *Mbari Ibadan*, 1962.

[344] See Malangatana's tribute to Guedes in Pomar et al. Op.cit. Pp.41-55.

international audiences. One of these was Frank McEwen, the newly appointed director of the recently established Rhodesian Art Gallery.[345] Malangatana described Guedes arriving with McEwen at Núcleo de Arte in 1959.[346] McEwen was directly responsible for the International Congress in Salisbury (ICAC), which a number of prominent individuals attended,[347] and where Guedes was one of the keynote speakers. Roland Penrose (1900-1984) of London's Institute for Contemporary Arts (ICA) attended ICAC, and it was through his interaction with Guedes that Malangatana got to show at the ICA.[348] It was also through McEwen that Guedes met Ulli Beier. Beier was directly responsible for exhibiting Malangatana in Nigeria, India, Pakistan, and as mentioned above probably had a hand in the Paris show. Beier also would, at the very least, have been indirectly involved in the London exhibit. His hand is also evident in several later exhibitions, as will be detailed in this chapter. Beier's interventions would

---

[345] McEwen was appointed before the Gallery opened in 1957. He resigned in 1973.

[346] Mamede op.cit. P.8.

[347] The delegates included Alfred Baar (Museum of Modern Art, New York), William Fagg (British Museum), Jean Laude (Sorbonne, Paris), Roland Penrose (ICA, London), James Porter (Howard University, USA), Saburi O. Biobaku (University of Ife, Nigeria), South African musicologist Hugh Tracey, Swiss Dadaist Tristan Tzara, Ghanaian sculptor Vincent Kofi and exiled South African artist Selby Mvusi. See A. Pomar, "'There were a lot of people hovering around'", in Pomar et al. Op.cit. P.47.

[348] Guedes related receiving an invitation from Penrose to speak at the ICA, and that he organised a discussion on Malangatana. Guedes attributed the actual organisation of Malangatana's ICA exhibit to an "enthusiastic critic" who pocketed all sales of what he described as a sell out show. A.A. Guedes, "Remembering the Painter Malangatana Valente Ngwenia when he was still young", in Navarro, 2003, op.cit. P.14.

prove to be highly influential in shaping the fledgling canon of modern African art, with enduring consequences for Malangatana and the field at large.

Another important figure for the young Malangatana was the South African architect Julian Beinart. Guedes invited Beinart to Lourenço Marques to run an art workshop which Malangatana attended.[349] As a result of this workshop, Beier invited Beinart to run a similar one for Mbari in Nigeria, and this led to what later became the well-known Oshogbo workshops. Beinart published an influential essay on Malangatana in *Black Orpheus*, a cultural journal established by Beier at the University of Ibadan, which become the *de facto* 'official' publication of the Mbari movement. Beinart also participated in the discussion on Malangatana that Guedes organised at the ICA.[350]

Dennis Duerden, a British expatriate active in the Nigerian art field, is another figure connected to this network. Two introductory books that he wrote on African Art are noteworthy for their inclusion of examples of modern African art at a time when the traditional was synonymous with African art.[351] The first of these books

---

[349] For Beinart's account of his workshop methodology, see J. Beinart, "Visual Education for Emerging Cultures: The African opportunity", in G. Kepes (ed), *Education of Vision*. New York: George Braziller, 1965, pp.184-200. See also A. Levin, "Basic Design and the Semiotics of Citizenship: Julian Beinart's educational experiments and research on wall painting in early 1960s Nigeria and South Africa". Online: *Abe Journal*, 9 October 2016, http://journals.openedition.org.abe/3180?lang=en

[350] Guedes, 2003, op.cit. P.14.

[351] D. Duerden, *African Art*. Middlesex: Paul Hamlyn, 1968; and D. Duerden, *African Art: An introduction*. London, New York, Sydney & Toronto: Hamlyn, 1974.

assigns a double spread to a Malangatana painting, the only contemporary artist to receive this emphasis. In the introduction to this book Duerden discusses the influence of expatriates, including Beier, McEwen, Guedes, and Beinart.[352]

Apart from the involvement of what can be loosely termed as Guedes' international network, what is becoming clearer is that several of these exhibitions were supported financially by the Congress for Cultural Freedom, an anti-communist initiative funded by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of the United States of America.[353] The Nigerian, Indian and Pakistan exhibitions, in which Beier was pivotal, were all funded by the Congress for Cultural Freedom. The Congress had offices in Paris, headed by exiled South African writer Ezekiel Mphahlele.[354] Galerie Lambert, which was something of a hub for Eastern European artists in Paris, received funding from the Congress for Cultural Freedom.[355] One can also note that the Congress funded the Transcription Centre in London, headed by Duerden.[356] Correspondence

---

[352] Duerden, 1968, op.cit. Pp.24-26.

[353] N.C. Manganyi and D. Attwell (eds), *Bury Me at the Marketplace: Es'kia Mphahlele and company, letters 1943-2006*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2010, p.77.

[354] Mphahlele worked for the Congress for Cultural Freedom in Nigeria, France, and Kenya. Manganyi and Attwell op.cit. P.110. In Kenya, Mphahlele headed the Chemi-Chemi cultural centre in Nairobi. Beinart ran a workshop at this centre when Mphahlele was there.

[355] A.A. Reisch, *Hot Books in the Cold War: The CIA-funded secret western book distribution program behind the Iron Curtain*. Budapest & New York: CEU Press, 2013.

[356] This was channeled through the Fairfield Foundation. O. Nwakanma, *Christopher Okigbo, 1930-67: Thirsting for sunlight*. Suffolk: James Currey and Ibadan: HEBN, 2010, P.222.

between Mphahlele and Duerden suggests collaborative links between the Transcription Centre and the ICA, although it is unclear whether this extended to Congress funding for the ICA.[357]

While the existence and role of networks and agencies requires further research, the paucity of attention given to their role in enabling Malangatana's early career highlights the lack of engagement by researchers and writers on the detail of his exhibitions and the contributing factors to his success. For most writers, merely naming countries where Malangatana exhibited suffices in affirming international capital, and this in turn provides 'evidence' of his greatness. Malangatana certainly possessed remarkable qualities, but without the support of influential networks it is unlikely that he would have reached the wide audience that he did in such a short period of time.

The other important point to consider when looking at this early period in Malangatana's career, was that it was a time in which, by his own accounts, he was becoming more politically conscious and militant, and this was manifesting in his work.[358] Defiant gestures such as withdrawing his works from the travelling *Artists of Mozambique* exhibition in Johannesburg (due to move to Durban) in solidarity with the Rivonia trialists,[359] and his refusal to represent Portugal at the *São Paulo*

[357] Manganyi and Attwell op.cit. P.118.

[358] Matusse op.cit. P.50.

[359] Anon. [Navarro], "As Várias Fases da Obra de Malangatana (ii)". Maputo: *Tempo*, 11 May 1986, p.54; Lemos et al. Op.cit.; Sopa, 2006, op.cit.

Biennale,[360] coupled with his growing audience, must have been brought to the attention of PIDE. These symbolic gestures of protest must surely have been considered by the colonial security apparatus and influenced the decision to jail the artist.[361]

3.2.2.2 Lull, and resurgence, 1965-1974

In contrast to the busy international period from 1961 to 1964, Malangatana participated in only two international exhibitions during the rest of the decade. The first of these, his only exhibition while imprisoned, was at the *Festival of Black Cultures*, in Dakar, 1966.[362] This Festival was the latest in a line of ambitious pan-African cultural events that date back to the *1st Congress of Black Writers and Artists*, organised by *Présence Africaine* in Paris, 1955; the most recent such event having been ICAC in Salisbury, 1962.[363] The Dakar exhibit was followed with Malangatana's inclusion in *Contemporary African Art* at the Camden Art Centre in

[360] Anon. [Navarro], 11 May 1986, op.cit. P.54; Lemos et al. Op.cit.

[361] For details on Malangatana's relations with the security police, see Caldeira and André op.cit. Pp.77-81.

[362] The exhibition, titled *Tendances et Confrontations,* was at the newly established Musée Dynamique. The circumstances of Malangatana's inclusion in this exhibition are unclear. Cédric Vincent notes that Mozambique is not listed in the catalogue among the countries represented, but underscores the unreliability of the catalogue as a record of the event. C. Vincent, "Tendencies and Confrontations: Dakar 1966". Online: *Afterall*, n.43, 2017. https://www.afterall.org/journal/issue.43/tendencies-and-confrontations-dakar-1966

[363] McEwen, who convened ICAC, chaired one of the sessions on modern and contemporary African art in Dakar, presenting not only continuity but also evidence of a link back to Guedes/ Malangatana. Ugochukwu-Smooth C. Nzewi, *The Dak'Art Biennial in the Making of Contemporary African Art, 1992-Present*. Emory University: PhD. Dissertation, 2013.

1969.[364] This was the first exhibition to use this title, which was also the name of Beier's seminal monograph published the year earlier.[365] The role of the prominent art journal *Studio International* in the organisation of the Camden exhibition demonstrates the strides being made at the time in bridging the divides between contemporary African art and the Eurocentric art world. These two exhibitions, like ICAC before them, are common entries in standard chronological accounts of the emerging field of modern and contemporary African art, unlike the artist's other early international exhibits, notably in India, Pakistan, France and the UK, which remain unremarked on in narrative accounts of the evolution of a discursive field in contemporary African art.

Despite the prominent role played by the Guedes/ Beier network in advancing Malangatana's international career, it was the Lisbon-based Gulbenkian Foundation that was to be instrumental in facilitating the young artist's solo debut in Europe.[366] The decision to award a scholarship to study in Portugal to a known Frelimo sympathiser (indeed, a member of the liberation movement's urban-based underground network) may appear odd; not least because this was at a time when the armed struggle was gaining momentum and Portuguese reprisals were increasingly brutal. One needs to consider the relative autonomy and

---

[364] *Contemporary African Art: Catalogue of an exhibition of contemporary African art held at the Camden Arts Centre, London*. London & New York: Studio International, 1969. This exhibit was notable for its inclusion of black South Africans, usually excluded from early continental surveys (with exceptions, such as the study by Brown op.cit.)

[365] Beier, 1968, op.cit.

[366] One should however not discount the possibility that Guedes may have been consulted.

influence of the Gulbenkian Foundation in order to comprehend this apparent incongruity. Caldeira and André highlight that the Portuguese government was divided on the issue of Malangatana's scholarship. The withdrawal of the award would have presented a propaganda coup to Lisbon's critics, whereas the event could be spun as a sign of Lisbon's benevolent colonialism.[367] Whatever the reasoning on the part of the Portuguese government, the Gulbenkian scholarship signalled a new relationship with the colonial metropole; one in which Malangatana would increasingly come to be appreciated in his own right as a powerful artist and personality, as well as a proxy for Mozambican culture.

While the stated objectives of the Gulbenkian scholarship were to provide opportunities for Malangatana to broaden his artistic repertoire, few could have predicted the extent to which Portugal would, over time, come to occupy a central place in his future career. Within Portugal a whole new network of cultural brokers took shape. The art critic and academic Rui Mário Gonçalves emerged as a significant ally, organising two simultaneous exhibitions in Lisbon in 1972. Drawings were shown at Livraria Buchholz,[368] and a companion show comprising paintings was held at the Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes (SNBA).[369]

---

[367] Caldeira and André op.cit. P.81. Malangatana provided a similar account in F. Vieira, "Entrevista Malangatana Valente Ngwenya". Lisboa: *Tabu,* n.188, 9 April 2010, p.41. Interesting parallels can be found in the career of Enwonwu, whose international career was supported by the colonial Nigerian government in order to communicate a benevolent colonialism. See Ogbechie, 2008, op.cit. Pp.89-90.

[368] Today an established bookshop, it was newly opened at the time of Malangatana's exhibition.

[369] The National Society for Fine Arts is an artists' run space where many Portuguese artists held their first exhibitions.

Gonçalves would be involved in organising most of Malangatana's early exhibitions in Portugal, and authored the catalogue for the July 1973 exhibition at Galeria Buccholz.[370] It also appears that there may have been a subsequent exhibition at Galeria Buccholz the following year.[371] The return visit/s to Buchholz signal the receptiveness of Portugal's literary and intellectual elite to both the anti-colonial movement and to the artist Malangatana.

Malangatana also participated in a group show in Madeira in 1973,[372] followed by two group exhibitions in Portugal shortly after the military coup in 1974, at which point Portuguese politics swung briefly from the far right to the far left. One of these events was expressly part of the campaign to grant independence to Portugal's colonies, and appears to have been held in a municipal facility in a suburb on the outskirts of Lisbon.[373] The

---

[370] R.M. Gonçalves, *Malangatana*. Lisboa: Galeria Buchholz, 1973.

[371] A 1974 exhibition at Buccholz is referred to by Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.50; Carvalho et al. Op.cit. P.143; and M.R. Nunes de Almeida e Casal Pelayo, *Artes Plásticas e Vanguarda Portugal, 1968 - Abril 1974*. Universidade do Porto: Masters thesis, 1999, pp.204, 216. In general, all biographies list the 1972 Buccholz exhibit, and none list the 1973 exhibit (which has a catalogue). This makes it difficult to establish certainty on the number of Buccholz exhibits.

[372] Madeira, like the Açores, is an autonomous Portuguese region. Malangatana participated in *Exposição Colectiva de Pintura, Gravura e Ceramica*, in Machico, Madeira. A.C.J. Valente, *As Artes Plásticas na Madeira*. University of Madeira: Masters thesis, 1999, p.82.

[373] The exhibition was part of a themed programme titled *Semana Contra a Guerra Colonial* [*week against colonial war*], CDE, Paço de Arcos, 1974. Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.50. The reference to "CDE" suggests it may have been an acronym for a facility that incporporated sports (centro desportivo).

other was a celebration of the Portuguese coup,[374] at Galeria de São Mamede in central Lisbon.[375]

That same year, 1974, Malangatana participated in the *2nd Festival of Art,* organised by the Black Consciousness aligned cultural organisation MDALI[376] at the Methodist Youth Centre in Soweto. While it has proved difficult to establish any details for this event, it can be assumed that the political character of the exhibition has warranted its consistent listing in his public record.

In contrast to the Portuguese and South African exhibitions in the late colonial period, where it is difficult to ignore political factors, other international exhibitions in this period were more concerned with questions of modern and contemporary African art. These exhibitions were constrained by the anthropological and ethnographic frames that dominated the study of African art at this time. This is evident in the nature of the institutions that exhibited his work. In Europe, Malangatana was featured in exhibitions at the Musee de l'Homme, Paris, in 1971,[377] and the following

---

[374] Titled *Maias para o 25 de Abril*, the exhibition comprised works critical of the dictatorship, some of which had been prohibited by the previous regime. See D. d'Alte Rodrigues, *A Obra de Eurico Gonçalves na Perspectiva do Surrealismo Português e Internacional*. University of Lisbon: PhD thesis, 2007, p.118.

[375] A gallery associated with Portuguese modernist movements, founded in 1968. http://www.saomamede.com/

[376] Acronym for the Music, Drama, Arts and Literature Institute. See D. Wylie, *Art + Revolution: The life and death of Thami Mnyele South African artist.* Johannesburg: Jacana, 2008, p.43.

[377] Incidentally, the same venue where Picasso is commonly said to have 'discovered' African art in 1906. Malangatana credited Guedes

year at the Naprstek Museum, part of the Prague National Museum. The Naprstek Museum describes itself as a museum of "Asian, African and American cultures".[378] Both the Paris and Prague exhibits demonstrate the ongoing influence of Beier, and were in fact composed of exhibits Beier donated to the Naprstek Museum, following several unsuccessful attempts to donate his collection of contemporary African art to a Nigerian museum.[379] In 1974 the Museum of African Art, which forms part of the Smithsonian Institution, one of the worlds leading ethnographic museums, held the exhibition *Contemporary African Art.*[380] These three exhibits demonstrate the convergence of anthropological frames and the surveying of pan-African modernisms, consistent with the peripheral placing of Africa in international art at the time.
It is also worth noting that these three ethnographically located exhibitions (in Paris, Prague and Washington DC) all took place in museums with an international scope,

---

for his hand in organising this exhibit. Malangatana, in Pomar et al. Op.cit. P.61.

[378] *National Museum – Naprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures,* https://www.prague.eu/en/object/places/735/national-museum-naprstek-museum-of-asian-african-and-american-cultures-naprstkovo-muzeum-asijskych-africkych-a-americkych-kultur

[379] Beier, 2001, op.cit. P.49. The correct title for the Prague exhibition appears to have been *Modern African Art of the 1960s. From the collection of Ulli Beier* (original Czech wording: Moderní africké umění 60. let. Sbírka Ulli Beiera). A catalogue was published by the Náprstek Museum. See L. Novosad (ed), *Africké Literatury*, [original publication details not known], p. 5. Online: http-//www.svetovka.cz/src/2007/svetovka05/svetovka.pdf

[380] J. Kennedy Wolford, *Contemporary African Art*. Washington, D.C.: Museum of African Art, 1974. This gallery is now known as the National Museum of African Art. With images by el Salahi and Malangatana on the catalogue cover, one can identify the pervasive influence of Beier in shaping the canon.

and all carrying the status of being national cultural institutions. This conferred prestige that could be translated back in Mozambique as further evidence of the artist's international success, without any discussion around the implications of a contemporary artist being framed by perceptions of race and ethnicity.

In 1974 Malangatana participated in a group exhibition at the African American institute in New York, along with three other African artists.[381] This exhibit followed the precedents of the ICA (London), Indian and Pakistan exhibitions by straddling two exhibition tropes: the pan-African survey, and the individualist focus on specific artists.

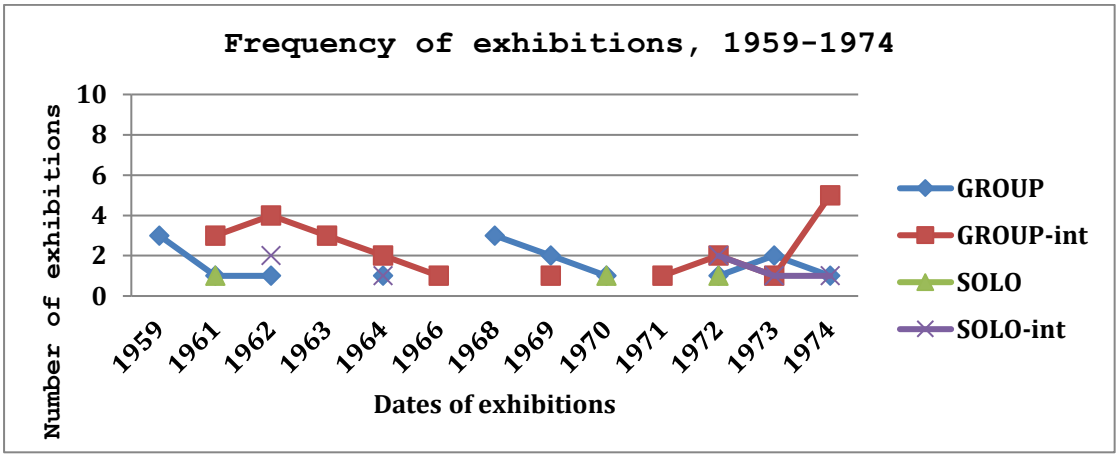
Another exhibition from this time, titled *25 African Artists*, at Gallery 101, Johannesburg, 1972, signals a resumption of exhibitions in South Africa where Malangatana last exhibited in 1963. Despite the title, this was not a pan-African exhibit. Rather it was in essence an exhibition of black South African artists, with Malangatana the only Mozambican on the show. Given competing framings of African identity as multi-racial, as in the Amadlozi Group,[382] *25 African Artists* used a racial taxonomy to tentatively bridge the national border, and in this sense presents a South African

[381] *African Art Today: Four major artists: an exhibition of paintings and sculpture by Skunder Boghossian, Valente Malangatana, Twins Seven Seven, and Amir I.M. Nour.* New York: African-American Institute, 1974.

[382] A loose grouping of black and white South African artists that were promoted by the gallerist Egon Guenther in the early 1960s.

inflexion of the anthropologically derived curatorial perspectives that were prevalent at the time.[383]

Looking back on this period, one can observe that by the end of the colonial period, in particular the years following his Gulbenkian scholarship, Malangatana's exhibition output regained the momentum it lost in the mid 1960s when he was jailed. International exhibitions were again dominant, with several principally concerned with questions of modern and contemporary African art, although the strong showing of his work in African countries between 1961 and 1966 was in decline. Portugal was emerging as a particularly significant site for Malangatana.



Graph depicts the frequency of exhibition types (group/solo) and geographic locations (Mozambique/international) during the anti/colonial period.

[383] The exhibition was titled *25 African Artists*. For the price list, see Pelmama.org, online: http://www.pelmama.org/PDFs/25_African_Artists_1972_Gallery101_HydePark.pdf

3.3 The post-independence/ revolutionary period (1975-1989)

This section commences in 1975, the year of Mozambican independence, and extends until 1989. 1989 signals the end of the Cold War, and Frelimo's official renunciation of Marxism-Leninism as party and state ideology. The post-independence years were tumultuous, beginning with the rapid departure of the Portuguese and Frelimo's radical interventions to create a New Society. The revolutionary project was faced with the violent destabilisation of the Frontline states by the apartheid regime, manifest in Mozambique through a devastating war mounted by Renamo (1979-1992). By the mid 1980s the Mozambican Revolution was in retreat, if not in tatters. The country joined the International Monetary Fund and World Bank in 1984, signalling encroaching neo-liberalism that would consolidate its position as the new unofficial ideology in the 1990s.

3.3.1 Exhibitions in Mozambique, 1975-1989

Following political independence, Malangatana was deeply involved in cultural activity, as an artist but also as a member and official of Frelimo. References to his appointments to public positions are commonly made in the literature but little detail is offered. Rather, as the following chapter will demonstrate, references to his political career serve principally to bolster the artist's political capital. Questions of reciprocity or conflict of interest in the overlap between his role as an individual artist and as a party member tasked with serving national interests are regrettably not discussed

in any of the existing literature. Instead, Malangatana as cultural sign bridges the two roles; simultaneously signifying both himself as a dominant individual artist and his position as a representative or proxy for Mozambican art and culture.[384]

Some of Malangatana's biographies refer to his appointment to the Department of Labour in 1975,[385] and his being tasked in 1977 to establish an arts and crafts gallery, subsequently the national art museum.[386] Certainly, he is regularly credited for being one of the founders of the National Art Museum in Maputo.[387] It is also well known that in 1978 Malangatana was sent by Frelimo to Nampula province, in the north of the country. The dominant narrative presents the artist as a loyal party cadre, who assisted in the development of communal

---

[384] Elsewhere I conducted a detailed analysis of Malangatana's representation in catalogues of Mozambican group shows. Emphasis was placed on the nuanced ways in which his prominence was simultaneously moderated and affirmed. See Pissarra, 2018, op.cit.

[385] Malangatana was initially linked to the Political Commission of the Department of Labour (*Instituto do Trabalho*). See J.N. [Navarro], "As Várias Fases da Obra de Malangatana (vi)". Maputo: *Tempo*, 8 June 1986, p.50. Elsewhere this appointment is dated earlier than 1975 ("1973/74"), which is clearly incorrect. See Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.48; and Carvalho et al. Op.cit. P.177.

[386] Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.48; J.N. [Navarro], 8 June 1986, op.cit. P.50; and Carvalho et al. Op.cit. P.177. The process of establishing the national museum is discussed in detail in A. Costa, *Arte e Museus em Moçambique: Entre a construção da nação e o mundo sem fronteiras (c.1932-2004)*. Universidade de Lisboa: Doctoral thesis, 2005, pp.45-57.

[387] For a comprehensive overview of the new state's interventions into culture, see A. Costa, *Arte em Moçambique: Entre a construção da nação e o mundo sem fronteiras 1932-2004*. Lisboa: Verbo, 2013, pp.243-290.

villages.[388] None of these accounts explain what qualified him for such a specialist rural development role. Sometimes we are told that he was active organising local cultural activities,[389] which sounds more feasible. On the other hand, it is well known and increasingly openly acknowledged that Frelimo sent many former political prisoners, including Malangatana, to the north for political education. De Souto contextualises this brief chapter as a power struggle between Frelimo's leadership and the urban-based underground network whose members did not undergo political and military training in the camps.[390] Malangatana's son, Mutxhini, recounted to me his memories of this period and recalled that his father, along with other intellectuals, was arrested by Frelimo after a public meeting, and then sent to the north.[391] While a punitive or at least 'humbling' element may have played a part, it is also evident that this was a productive artistic period for Malangatana.[392] Malangatana himself claimed to have learned much about cultural anthropology in Nampula.[393] He subsequently assisted in the founding of the Department of Arts and Crafts in the Secretariat of the State of Culture, and was appointed to

[388] Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.48; J.N. [Navarro], 8 June 1986, op.cit. P.50; Carvalho et al. Op.cit. P.177; Sopa, 2006, op.cit.

[389] Lemos et al. Op.cit. Pp.19,48; J.N. [Navarro], 8 June 1986, op.cit. P.51.

[390] De Souto op.cit. Pp.285-288.

[391] Mutxhini recalls a soldier attempting to prevent him from embracing his father before his departure to Nampula. Interview, Maputo, 9 September 2011.

[392] Apart from murals, he is also said to have developed his drawing during this time, as well as familiarised himself with acrylic painting. J.N. [Navarro], 8 June 1986, op.cit. P.51.

[393] E. Manhique, "Entrevista com Malangatana Vale Nguenha", in E. Manhique, *Gente da Nossa Terra*. Maputo: Radio Moçambique, 1999, p.44.

head the Department on its establishment in 1983.[394] His patriotic duties were recognised in 1984 when he was awarded the Medal of Nachingwea for his contribution to Mozambican culture.[395] He stepped down from public office in 1985, in order to concentrate on his artistic career.[396]

While recorded details are sketchy, it is evident that for the first decade of independence Malangatana was caught up in the revolutionary project of establishing a socialist Mozambique. According to the artist:

> *"There really was a certain period when my work as a painter stopped, precisely because of these circumstances that naturally occurred in the period immediately following independence. It was not a decision that I took: I did not say then that I was going to stop painting, but what happened was that I painted less. There were things that were beyond my control, many varied tasks which I was constantly requested to carry out, and which seemed more necessary, more important than going on painting. This lasted more or less until 1985, about ten years."*[397]

It is important to recognise that Malangatana's contribution to exhibitions during this time was typically not that of a common participant or invited

[394] Costa, email correspondence, 5 January 2019.

[395] Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.51.

[396] Ibid. P.48.

[397] Anon. [*Indico*] op.cit. P.35.

artist but rather as one charged with responsibility for cultural activity.[398]

First post-independence exhibition, Facim, June 1975

Source: CasaComum.org, http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_117636 (2019-2-4)

Luis Bernardo Honwana (left) with Malangatana at Pequenos Libombos exhibition, 1984.

Source: CasaComum.org, http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_117372 (2019-2-4)

[398] Alda Costa has referred to Malangatana as "the curator of the epoch". Email correspondence, November 2017.

Most exhibitions during the post-independence period were explicitly tied to Frelimo's political programme. For instance, Malangatana participated in exhibitions commemorating political independence (1975, 1976, 1977, 1985). He exhibited work for Frelimo's 20th anniversary (1982), President Machel's 50th birthday (1983), two exhibitions in support of Frelimo's 4th congress (1983),[399] and another for Frelimo's 5th Congress (1989).[400] An exhibition for the anniversary of the Organisation of African Unity in Maputo (1989) was also an expressly political act.[401]

Other group exhibitions that Malangatana participated in during the post-independence period were less directly political, but can be seen to have been undertaken in the national interest. One was to raise awareness and funds for communities affected by natural disasters (1984);[402] and he supported journalists by participating in an exhibition commemorating the [10th] anniversary of the National Organisation of Journalists (1988).[403]

Despite the emphasis on politically oriented exhibitions, a few were more concerned with artistic matters than

---

[399] Lemos et al. Op.cit. Pp. 50-51.

[400] Carvalho et al. Op.cit. P.180.

[401] Several biographies list a group exhibit for "OVA". This appears to be an erroneous transcription of OUA (Portuguese acronym for OAU/ Organisation of African Unity), highlighting how basic errors have been serially inscribed into some of Malangatana's biographies. See Carvalho et al. Op.cit. P.179; Aresta op.cit. P.37; and *Art Africa* op.cit.

[402] *Apoio as Vítimas das Calamidades Naturais*", Núcleo de Arte. Lemos et al. Op.Cit. P.50.

[403] *Exposição de Artes Plásticas: 10°* Aniversário *da ONJ. Organização Nacional* de *Jornalistas*. Maputo: ONJ, 1988.

others. In 1981 the National Museum of Art organised a Mozambican tribute to Picasso,[404] and in 1989 he participated in an exhibition titled *Amor e Arte* [Love and Art] in Maputo.[405] Malangatana also participated in a group show at Horizonte Arte Diffusão in 1987.[406] HAD was an agency established with the intent to professionalise the visual arts sector; and followed on an earlier initiative to establish a commercial outlet for art and craft, where Malangatana exhibited earlier in 1980.[407]

During this period there were sporadic attempts to exhibit in parts of the country other than its capital.[408] This was necessary in order to promote notions of popular access to the arts, which was part of his official

---

[404] Titled *Exposição - Homenagem a Picasso dos artistas Moçambicanos.* Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.50.

[405] Listed by *Art Africa* op.cit. This exhibition is listed in numerous biographical entries on the internet, but with nothing more than "Maputo" to locate it.

[406] Titled *Art na Empresa* [Art in the Company]. Sopa, 2006, op.cit.

[407] Ibid. Sopa appears to conflate the two initiatives by referring to "Horizonte Loja-Galeria", whereas Costa confirms that HAD was established in 1986. The link between Loja-Galeria (the commercial outlet) and HAD (the professional service) is discussed by Costa, 2005, op.cit. Pp.324-326.

[408] *Exposição Colectiva Itinerante* (travelling collective exhibition), began in 1975 in Maputo (Associação Africana de Moçambique) before travelling to other parts of the country. In 1982 *Artistas de Moçambique* opened at Musart, and subsequently travelled to Beira (Casa dos Bicos). Also in 1982, the commemorative exhibition for Frelimo's 20th anniversary was held in Beira (Casa dos Bicos). Malangatana participated in *Fim-de-semana Cultural nos Pequenos Libombos*, Barragem dos Pequenos Libombos, 1984. The 10th anniversary of independence (1985) was commemorated with an exhibition in Beira (Casa dos Bicos), and in Maputo (Núcleo de Arte). The catalogue for this exhibition includes Manica as a destination, but this is not listed by Lemos et al.

mandate, complementing Frelimo's initial emphasis on decentralisation. However, these efforts were severely compromised by the instability wrought by the Civil War, and it is thus not surprising that most group exhibits consolidated Maputo's position as both political and artistic capital of Mozambique. Exhibitions in Maputo took place at FACIM, Mozambique's international trade fair (1975, 1976, 1979),[409] at Musart (1977, 1980, 1981, 1982, twice in 1983), at Núcleo de Arte (1983, 1984, 1987),[410] Loja- Galeria (1980), Horizonte Arte-Diffusão (1987), and at the newly constructed Praça dos Heróis (1979).[411]

Many of the group exhibitions in Mozambique during the post-independence/ revolutionary period may have been successful on their own terms, but most have been poorly documented, their overall impact unclear to outsiders. In dramatic contrast to these, now generally obscure events, Malangatana was honoured with a major retrospective exhibition at Musart on the occasion of his 50th birthday (1986}. This was part of a new era for art in Mozambique, with solo exhibitions being re-introduced after what was effectively an unofficial ban on individualist artistic practices.[412] This shift in policy was in line with reforms being undertaken by Frelimo, in tandem with the

[409] FACIM stands for Feira Agropecuária, Comercial e Industrial de Moçambique.

[410] Identified simply as "colectiva" by Sopa, 2006, op.cit.

[411] Costa describes this event as a sculpture exhibition curated for the inauguration of the newly established Heroes Square. Costa, 2005, op.cit. P.291.

[412] Costa details the gradual re-emergence of solo exhibitions from 1982 onwards. She also notes Malangatana's comment that artists who signed their works in the post-independence period were frowned on by Frelimo. Costa, 2013, op.cit. Pp.290-291.

terminal condition of the Mozambican Revolution. Malangatana's retrospective exhibition was opened by President Machel, with many senior Frelimo members present. His first retrospective provided occasion for what was, by the standards of the day, a substantive catalogue, along with a scaled down, popular version that could be easily circulated.[413] There were numerous articles in the popular press, including what can be seen as an orchestrated pre-publicity campaign conceived to communicate the significance of Malangatana to a broad Mozambican public.[414]

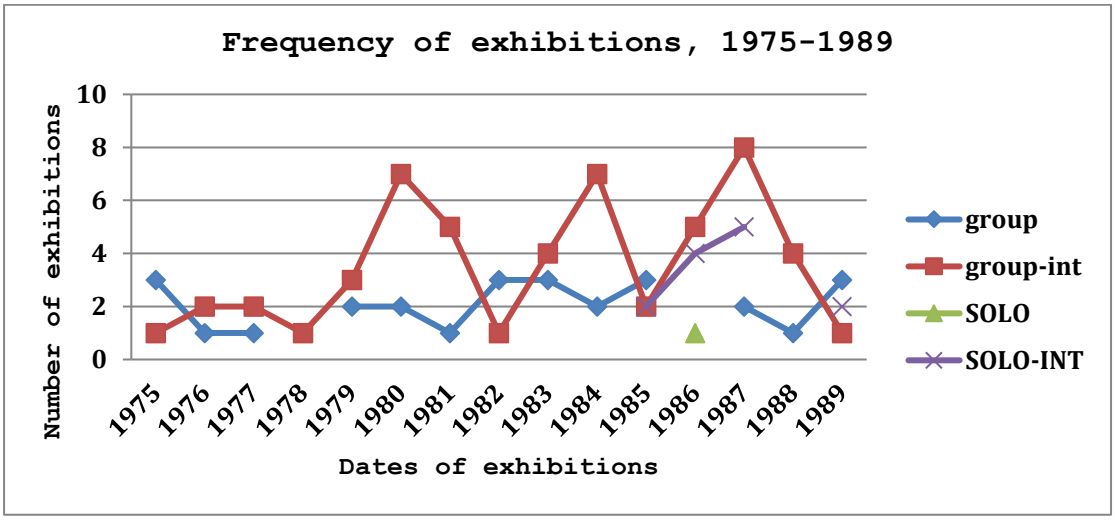
Looking back on Malangatana's exhibition record during this period one can deduce that from around the time of his first retrospective there was a dramatic drop in his participation in group exhibitions in Mozambique. One can contrast the understated profile of the busy but relatively 'anonymous' period represented by the emphasis on national group shows in the first decade following independence with a subsequent emphasis on international and solo exhibitions, commonly regarded within the art circuit as more prestigious than local collective efforts.

[413] Lemos et al. Op.cit. Apart from the official catalogue the National Museum produced a scaled-down popular version that could be easily distributed.

[414] In the build-up to the retrospective *Tempo* magazine published a series of articles on Malangatana, mostly written by Navarro, op.cit.

Malangatana with President Samora Machel at the opening of his first retrospective exhibition, Musart, 1986.

Source: CasaComum.org, http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_117158 (2019-2-4)



Graph illustrates emphasis on group exhibitions, with solo exhibitions (mostly international) becoming significant from 1985.

3.3.2 International exhibitions (1975-1989)

In analysing Malangatana's exhibition output after independence, in particular the first decade, there is a striking imbalance between a wide range of group exhibitions and the absence of solo exhibitions. By the end of the 1980s this pattern was balancing out, with solo exhibitions, many of them retrospectives, consolidating his stature as Mozambique's most accomplished and revered artist.

Malangatana's representation in group exhibitions within Mozambique after independence, particularly within the first decade, coincides with a noticeable upsurge in participation in officially organised or sanctioned international group exhibitions, commencing in 1976. There is thus a demonstrable corollary between the coming to power of a socialist ideology and an emphasis on collective exhibitions, at least for the first decade following independence.

As with the local shows during this period, many of the international exhibitions manifested or complemented Frelimo's political interests in explicit or fairly direct terms. These exhibits unambiguously advocated national interests, promoting national identity through art, and mobilising international solidarity with the people of Mozambique. Simultaneously, international exhibitions frequently promoted transnational political interests, such as socialist and pan-African solidarity. Some represented a strengthening of ties with political blocs such as the Non-Aligned Movement, as well as with the Nordic countries, especially Sweden and Norway. This period also provided intermittent signs that hinted at

the future importance of Portugal in Malangatana's international career.

In contrast to the dominance of political imperatives in many of the international group shows during this period, there was a comparatively minor impulse concerned with surveying pan-African or sub-continental artistic practice. In rare instances, exhibitions conjured purportedly neutral international imaginaries, where aesthetics were foregrounded.

3.3.2.1 International group exhibitions and the politics of solidarity, 1976-1988

A survey of the geo-political scope of Malangatana's participation in international group shows after independence identifies an entirely new trend - a strong showing in socialist countries. Malangatana participated in group shows in East Germany (1976,[415] 1980,[416] 1981),[417]

---

[415] Venue identified as "Torre de Televisão". Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.50.

[416] Mozambican/Portuguese biographies consistently identify this exhibition as "Arte Moderna Africana", and give the venue as that for the earlier (1976) exhibit. It is also claimed that the same 1980 exhibition went to Stockholm. Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.50.

[417] The venue is again identified as "Torre de Televisão". *Ibid*. There is a lack of detail published on these East German exhibitions. In a study of African exhibitions in Germany (East and West), Tchibozo claims that Malangatana participated in group exhibitions in East Germany in 1976, 1982 and 1985 (he makes no reference to 1980 and 1981), but gives no details of these shows. M.A.R. Tchibozo, *L'Art et L'Arbitraire: Une etude de la reception de l'art africain contemporain en occident, le cas allemande de 1950 a nos jours*. Humboldt Universite de Berlin: Doctoral thesis, 2003, pp.277-278.

Cuba (1979, 1980),[418] Russia (1981),[419] Bulgaria (1981,[420] 1988)[421] and Angola (1982).[422] Most of these exhibitions took place during the years that Mozambique's socialist programme was at its peak. As will be detailed below in the discussion on Malangatana's solo exhibitions, he would make final visits to some of these countries between 1986 and 1987, in the form of retrospective exhibitions.

Less evident than the Soviet bloc, some of the international group exhibitions that Malangatana featured in during this period were in Western European countries with left-leaning municipalities and/or national governments. This can be said of the artist's representation in two Italian exhibitions (1979,[423]

---

[418] VII Non-Aligned Summit, and the International Youth Festival, both in Havana. Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.50

[419] Venue given as "Museu dos Povos de África e Ásia" (Museum of the Peoples of Africa and Asia), Moscow. Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.50. There does not appear to be a museum in Moscow with this name.

[420] This is customarily identified as "Comité de Cultura", Sofia. Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.50. This is clearly not the name of a venue.

[421] Triennial of Realist Painting, Sofia. A two-page notification concerning this exhibition, titled "Maio 1988 Importante Evente Internacional de Arte na Bulgaria: A Trienal da Pintura Realista" can be found (un-numbered) in Malangatana's box-files, Musart. "Trienal de Sofia, Bulgaria" is listed amongst Malangatana's exhibitions in Núcleo de Arte, *5° Congresso do Partido Frelimo: Exposição de artes plásticas*. Maputo: Núcleo de Arte, 1989.

[422] Museum of Natural History, Luanda. Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.50

[423] This exhibition is simply listed as having been in Reggio Emilia, Italy, 1979. Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.50. Frelimo's links with Reggio Emilia are touched on by its President Samora Machel, at the First National Solidarity Conference for the Freedom and Independence of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau, held at Reggio Emilia, 25 March 1973. See S. Machel. "Solidarity is Mutual Aid between Forces Fighting for the Same Objectives", in S. Machel. *Mozambique: Sowing*

1986),[424] and in London (1981) during Ken Livingstone's reign at the Greater London Council. Solo exhibitions in Vienna and London (discussed later in this chapter) also fall into this pattern.

When considering socialist networks one can also note a group exhibition organised by *Avante*, the newspaper of the Portuguese Communist Party (1977).[425] This took place not long after independence, when Malangatana was not active in Portugal, in stark contrast to his growing presence there in the late anti/colonial period.

The Nordic countries, especially Sweden and Norway, would become important international sites for Malangatana during the Cold War. Sweden had long been a country with an independent foreign policy. The Swedes supported several African liberation movements, including Frelimo, so it is not surprising that Sweden featured among the countries exhibiting Mozambican art during the Cold War. Aside from the *Artists of the World Against Apartheid* exhibition that, as noted below, toured Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland, Malangatana exhibited in a group show in Sweden in 1980,[426] and there were group exhibitions from Mozambique in Oslo and Stockholm in 1987,[427] which ran concurrently with solo exhibits.[428]

---

the Seeds of Revolution. London: Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola & Guine, 1974, pp.7-15.

[424] B. Bernardi, E. Cossa, R. T. Duarte, et al. *Mozambico: Arte di un popolo*. Roma: Palazzo Venezia, 1986.

[425] Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.50

[426] Carvalho et al. Op.cit. P.179.

[427] K. Danielsson (ed). *Mozambique! Exhibition workshop programmes*. Stockholm: Kulturhuset, 1987.

[428] Carvalho et al. Op.cit. P. Elsewhere the venue for the Oslo solo exhibition is given as Folkets Hus. See Sopa, 2006, op.cit.

The Angolan exhibition, presented above among those that fell within the socialist frame, points to another emerging political trend – the building of relationships with other African countries. Whereas in the 1960s individuals such as Guedes, McEwen and Beier had facilitated exchange between African artists, this had been done without the official support of the colonial administration in Mozambique. In the post-independence period government resources could be allocated for such programmes. Malangatana spent two months in Nigeria as part of the Mozambican delegation for the *2nd World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture* (FESTAC, 1977).[429] This suggests strong support by the Frelimo government for an event of political, cultural and artistic significance.[430] An explicit political interest can be seen in Zimbabwe (1980) where the theme of the exhibition mirrored and promoted the campaign for solidarity between Mozambicans and Zimbabweans, allies in the struggle for the liberation of Southern Africa and in the war against Renamo.[431]

While exhibitions in African countries were not abundant in the post-independence period, with only the group shows in Angola, Nigeria and Zimbabwe referred to above, solidarity with other African countries becomes a more pronounced theme of post-independence exhibitions if one

---

[429] J.N. [Navarro], 8 June 1986, op.cit. P.51.

[430] This gathering was the direct descendant of the Dakar Congress (1966), and can also be connected to the Salisbury Congress (ICAC, 1962), both of which Malangatana contributed to, but did not attend.

[431] *Semana de Amizade Moçambique-Zimbabwe* (week of friendship Mozambique-Zimbabwe), National Art Gallery of Zimbabwe, Harare. Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.50.

factors in initiatives off the African continent, notably in Europe. The first and largest of these was a United Nations supported artist-led initiative *Artists of the World Against Apartheid.* This touring exhibition comprised art works donated by 78 international artists. It opened in Paris in 1983,[432] moving on the following year to the Nordic countries,[433] and touring several countries (Spain, Italy, Tunisia, West Germany, USA, Japan).[434] There was also a second showing in France,[435]

---

[432] The inaugural venue, according to the UWC Mayibuye archives where the collection is housed, was the Fondation Nationale des Arts Graphiques et Plastiques. http://mayibuyearchives.org/2017/09/24/art-artefacts/
Malangatana's biographies usually identify the venue as the Grand Palace, Paris. E.g. Aresta op.cit. P.34.

[433] Sweden (Lunds Kunsthall), Finland (Porin Taidemuseo; Nykytalteen Museo, Tampereen; and Lahden Taidemuseo, Lahtti, and Denmark (Udstillingsby gningen ved Charlottenborg). Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.50. It is likely that the exhibition was also seen in Norway as the governments of Finland, Sweden, and Norway were co-sponsors of the exhibition. R. Johnson and S.M. Rai, "Imagining Pasts and Futures: The Indian Parliament murals and South Africa's Keiskamma Tapestry", *Open India*, 14 December 2012, https://www.opendemocracy.net/openindia/rachel-johnson-shirin-m-rai/imagining-pasts-and-futures-indian-parliament-murals-and-south
This essay was subsequently published in Arundthati Vimani (ed), *Political Aesthetics: Culture, critique and the everyday*. New York: Routledge, 2016.

[434] According to a report in the *New York Times*, a scaled down version of the exhibition opened at the United Nations in New York in 1987, was to travel to Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania and was scheduled for a two-year long tour of Japan. The exhibit had also been seen in Spain, Tunisia, Italy and West Germany. P. Lewis, "Exhibit of Art Against Apartheid Opens at U.N.". Online: *New York Times*, 5 November 1987, https://www.nytimes.com/1987/11/05/arts/exhibit-of-art-against-apartheid-opens-at-un.html

[435] The exhibition was seen in Marseilles in 1985, with the venues recorded as Roissy-Ch. De Gaulle and Le Maison de l'Etranger. Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.50.

and the exhibition eventually found its home in post-apartheid South Africa.[436]. The invitation to Malangatana to participate in this exhibition is regularly cited as one of his 'distinctions' along with his various international awards. Navarro argues that Malangatana was selected for this exhibition because of the quality of his work (i.e that his identity as a Mozambican was of less consequence) and that his inclusion confirmed his stature as one of the world's leading artists.[437] Furthermore this exhibition enhanced Malangatana's visibility and stature as a human rights activist.

Like *Artists of the World Against Apartheid*, the exhibition *Art Pour l'Afrique* was a consciousness raising event intended to draw attention to conditions on the African continent. In this instance the exhibition, which appears to have been designed as a fundraiser, drew attention to famine and malnutrition. Opening at the Musee National des Arts Africaines et Oceaniens, Paris, in 1988, *Art Pour l'Afrique* may have travelled internationally.[438] Organised by the New York-based

---

[436] Exhibited in the South African Parliament from 1996-1999. Johnson and Shirin, op.cit. The collection is housed permanently at the University of the Western Cape. Documentation of this important event is surprisingly hard to come by, and it appears that the exhibition was sometimes shown in reduced form. This makes it difficult to conclusively confirm the inclusion of Malangatana's painting *Apartheid* (1982), although with few African artists invited and being from a country experiencing the hostility of the apartheid regime it is probable that this work was always, or at least usually, included. The other African artists were Gavin Jantjes (South African exile), Iba N'Diaye (Senegalese), Skunder Boghossian (Ethiopian exile) and Twins Seven Seven (Nigerian). Nzewi op.cit. P.122.

[437] J.N. [Navarro], 15 June 1986, op.cit. P.52.

[438] The organisers planned for the exhibition to tour Oslo, Stockholm, Paris, Cologne, London, Algiers and Rome. International Fund for

International Fund for Agricultural Development, the exhibition appears to have featured many of the biggest names in international art.[439] While Malangatana's participation is confirmed in catalogue listings for auctions,[440] it is not clear whether the organisers succeeded in securing participation from other African artists.

African solidarity would also have been a subtext for a group show of Mozambican art at the Africa Centre in London (1987).[441] The Africa Centre is an independent trust that served as an important meeting point for generations of Africans from 1960 onwards.[442] Its appearance on Malangatana's exhibition itinerary brings into view a faintly pronounced, intermittent pattern of sympathetic non-governmental agencies that acted as important brokers for international events, not least when their governments were unsupportive of the Frelimo government.

Another political current that can be read into post-independence exhibitions is Mozambique's bid to assert its sovereignty, as expressed in its membership of the

---

Agricultural Development, "Note d'Information sur l'Exposition", information notification, (un-numbered) document in Malangatana box-files, Musart. I have restricted reference to the opening exhibition in Paris due to the absence of corroborating references to additional venues.

[439] Joseph Beuys, Gerhard Richter, Andy Warhol, Robert Rauschenberg, Claes Oldenberg and Nam June Paik were among the 39 artists confirmed by the organisers. Ibid.

[440] Gaia SAS, *Art Contemporain Afriques: Lundi 8 Decembre 2008*. Paris: Gaia, 2008, p.24.

[441] Aresta op.cit. P.36.

[442] Africa Centre [website], online: https://www.africacentre.org.uk/

Non-Aligned Movement. The most explicit examples of art's role in supporting this broader political imperative can be seen in Malangatana's participation in the 7th *Non-Aligned Summit* (1979), and the *International Youth Festival* (1980), both in Havana. It can be noted that all Malangatana's post-independence group exhibitions in NAM member states – Nigeria (1977), Cuba (1979, 1980), Zimbabwe (1980), Angola (1982) and India (1984)[443] occurred before he left public office in 1985. While it is unclear whether this discontinuity of exhibitions in nAM countries is due to a decline in international events following Malangatana vacating office, or represents a decline in his participation in such exhibitions; this pattern is consistent with the decline of exhibitions in socialist countries that began on the late Cold War.

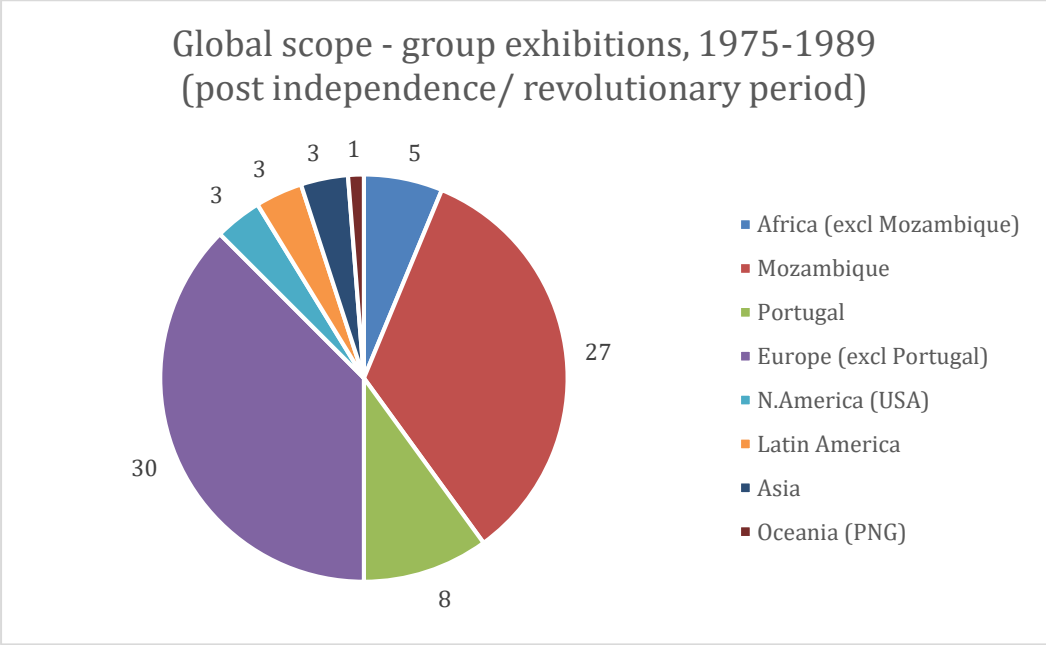


Chart illustrates that international group shows almost doubled the number of Mozambican group shows in the post-independence/ revolutionary period.

[443] A two-person show with Chissano at the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, suggesting some continuity with the earlier Indian exhibitions. Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.50.

3.3.2.2 Postcolonial currents in international group exhibitions, 1977-1989

If political solidarity provides one key lens to interpret many of Malangatana's international exhibitions in the years following independence, questions of postcolonial relations with the former metropole constitutes another political prism. Earlier it was observed that Malangatana's presence in Portugal was on the rise in the early 1970s i.e in the late anti/colonial period. This momentum was interrupted following independence. There would be only one exhibit in Portugal during the latter half of the 1970s; a collective show for the Portuguese communist newspaper *Avante* in 1977. This implies a politics of solidarity between socialist and communist forces, as discussed in the preceding section. It can further be observed that Malangatana's visibility in Portugal began to resume significance from the time that the Mozambican revolution was beginning to collapse. There were two very different group showings in the late Cold War period. The first of these was in 1983 as part of a week-long programme of activities promoting Mozambique (discussed in following section). This was followed by his inclusion in a surrealist exhibition in Lisbon, 1984.[444] As will be detailed in the discussion on his individual exhibits, Malangatana held two modest solo shows in Portugal in 1985, followed by a major retrospective in Lisbon in 1989, the same year that he participated in a group show in Lisbon that was organised

[444] *Exposição Internacional: Surrealismo e pintura fantastica* at Teatro Iberico, Lisboa, 1984. Referred to by Rodrigues, op.cit. P.122.

as part of an meeting of lusophone writers.[445] The lusophone writers event was preceded by *Ponte Sobre os Mares* [Bridge Across the Seas], an exhibition organised by the Portuguese Ministry for Economic Development and Cooperation that focused on international maritime links with Portugal.[446] The theming of transnational, Portugal-centred exhibitions is important. It signals an emerging postcolonial pattern: the re-imagining and construction of an international identity shaped by shared cultural capital, notably (but not limited to) the (former) coloniser's language. As will become evident in the subsequent section on globalisation, lusophonic identity would become a major defining factor in Malangatana's solo exhibitions. However, at this point this trend was not immediately apparent, as the broad range of countries discussed in this period makes clear.

If one applies the lusophone lens during the post-independence period one can note the Angolan group show from 1982 mentioned above, where recent experiences of waging an anti-colonial war would have underpinned relations. In addition, Malangatana was featured in a tapestry exhibition in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1978.[447]

---

[445] Exhibition is listed as *Encontro de Escritores de Língua Portuguêsa*. Carvalho et al. Op.cit. P.180.

[446] The title translates as "Bridge Over the Seas". The exhibition was held at the Mosteiro dos Jeronimos, 1988-1989. A catalogue (J.P.C. da Silva, *Ponte Sobre os Mares: Exposição integrada no 1° Congresso da Cooperação*. Lisboa: Associação Portuguêsa para o Desenvolvimento Economicos e a Cooperação, 1988) is listed by *WorldCat*, with a copy held by Smithsonian Institution Libraries. Online: https://www.worldcat.org/title/ponte-sobre-os-mares-exposicao-integrada-no-1-congresso-da-cooperacao-mosteiro-dos-jeronimos-20-de-dezembro-1988-a-31-de-janeiro-1989/oclc/47715873

[447] Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.50.

Brazil was neither socialist,[448] African (although with many residents of African origins due to the transatlantic slave trade), nor a member of the Non-Aligned Movement. Brazil, like Mozambique, was a former Portuguese colony, and its presence among the countries exhibiting Malangatana in the post-independence period suggests historical and cultural ties.

3.3.2.3 Curating the nation for the international, 1976-1987

One of the distinct features of Malangatana's group exhibitions in the post-independence period is the prevalence of references to Mozambique in exhibition titles. Exhibitions in East Germany (1976, 1981), Cuba (1980), Russia (1981), Bulgaria (1981) and Angola (1982) all appear to have been titled *Artists of Mozambique*, highlighting the importance of promoting national identity through art, and advocating collective rather than individual interests.

A similar ideological and curatorial stream dropped the general reference to artists, conferring instead a more specific interest in modern art, whilst retaining the national frame. *Modern Art from Mozambique* was shown at the Koninklijk Instituut Voor de Tropen[449] in Amsterdam and at the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) Centre for Learning Resources in 1981.[450] These were both public institutions, mandated to address cultural diversity,

[448] The Brazilian military dictatorship (1964-1985) outlawed socialist organisations, although by the late 1970s reforms allowing for their re-emergence were introduced.

[449] Royal Tropical Institute. Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.50.

[450] *Modern Art from Mozambique: Catalogue*. London: ILEA, 1981.

suggesting municipal sanction. According to South African-born artist and curator Gavin Jantjes (who was commissioned by ILEA to paint a mural in Brixton in 1984), ILEA was one of the "only spaces in London where you could see art from other parts of the world".[451] This indicates that while ILEA's Centre for Learning Resources was not a professional gallery it did hold a significant position within the cultural politics of the time. ILEA was associated with the left-wing Greater London Council, that was bitterly opposed (and subsequently closed down) by the Conservative Party.[452] The ILEA exhibition surfaces the political faultlines within western democracies, since it implies a degree of solidarity with African socialism. It also reflects the anti-racist agenda pursued by bodies such as the Greater London Council. Exhibitions such as *Modern Art from Mozambique* did not only reflect an interest in a distant land, but also served to address local (British) political interests. The question of an anti-racist agenda in Mozambican exhibitions abroad may well be an unstated theme underlying several events, although the literature is customarily silent on this point.

A curatorial tributary of the national exhibition comes in the form of events that drop references to art from the title, but retain art exhibitions as integral elements. The first of these appears to have been *Mozambique Week* in Portugal in 1983, which Malangatana

[451] Gavin Jantjes, telephone conversation, 21 June 2012.

[452] Ibid. According to Jantjes, the two bodies shared the same building, and after ILEA was closed some of its staff went to work for the GLC.

was sent to Portugal to organise.[453] This initiative can be viewed as an attempt to improve relations between Portugal and Mozambique, following a straining of the relationship in the post independence period (due in part to Mozambican perceptions that Portugal was supportive of Renamo). The years 1986 and 1987 were particularly busy with similar events. There was a *Mozambique Week* in Rome, where, as mentioned above, Malangatana featured in an ambitious survey of Mozambican art;[454] and he also exhibited in another *Mozambique Week* in Portugal.[455] During the same period there was a two-month long programme of Mozambican culture in Stockholm, as mentioned earlier.[456]

This analysis of international exhibitions in the years following independence has highlighted that political, historical and cultural relations were central motivating factors for most of the international group exhibitions in the revolutionary period. It is also evident from exhibition titles that some of these events displayed a keen interest in artistic currents, although these tended to be secondary to political interests.

---

[453] Held at the Casino in the exclusive suburb of Estoril, outside the city of Lisbon, and also at *Cooperativa Arvore* in Porto. Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.50.

[454] Exhibition held at Palazzo Venezia, Rome, 1986, curated by Egidio Cossa, ethnographer and museologist. The exhibition demonstrated strong interest in Makonde sculpture, and anthropological perspectives dominate the catalogue. Bernardi et al. Op.cit.

[455] The programme took place in Estoril and Porto, 1987. Aresta op.cit. P.36.

[456] Danielsson, op.cit. This event (1987) is often erroneously recorded as having been "Mozambican Week" in Stockholm and Oslo. E.g. Carvalho et al. Op.cit.; Aresta op.cit. P.36.

3.3.2.4 Curating modern Africa and the international, group exhibits 1975-1985

In considering examples where aesthetic concerns took centre stage one can identify two orientations. The first concerns exhibitions falling within the discursive field of modern and contemporary African art; the second, less pronounced trend concerns international exhibitions where Africa did not constitute the curatorial frame.

Seemingly it was FESTAC'77 that provided the first occasion during this period for Malangatana's participation in an African themed exhibition. Regrettably documentary evidence provides little detail of his contribution to this historic event.[457] FESTAC was followed by Malangatana's inclusion in *Moderne Kunst aus Afrika,* which formed part of the *Horizonte '79 Festival of World Cultures* in (West) Berlin. *Moderne Kunst aus Afrika* has been described as the "first large-scale African contemporary art exhibition in Europe."[458] From the perspective of a study of Malangatana, this exhibition is notable for its location in West Germany in 1979, when the Cold War was still very much in place. Evidencing growing interest in West Germany for contemporary African art, a similarily titled exhibition, *Neue Kunst in Afrika*, organised by the indefatigable Ulli

[457] An amendment to the official programme for Festac'77 lists late additions. This includes reference to "Contemporary Visual Arts Exhibition". Mozambique is not listed among the participating countries, suggesting that participation was not well planned. Festac'77 Spotlight. Online: http://www.festac77.net/PDF/Spotlight.pdf

[458] T. Botoux and C. Vincent, "Africa remix sampler", in C. Kellner (ed), *Africa Remix: Contemporary art of a continent.* Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2007, p.241.

Beier, followed in 1980 with showings in West Germany and Austria.[459] It is possible that these two exhibitions, with their similar titles at around the same time and both held in West Germany, have sometimes been confused with each other.[460] There are photocopied pages of select pages from both catalogues in Malangatana's files at Musart,[461] but surprisingly neither of these exhibitions appear in any of his biographies. In contrast, listings of Malangatana's exhibitions customarily refer to *Arte Moderna Africana*, apparently exhibited in East Berlin and Stockholm in 1980.[462] It is unclear whether this is an erroneous reference to either *Moderne Kunst aus Afrika* or *Neue Kunst in Afrika* (neither of which were in East Berlin or Stockholm); or refers to an entirely different exhibition.

A more restrictive variant of the African survey exhibition can be seen in a little-known exhibition from 1983, titled *Summer Collection '83*, at Gallery 21 in Johannesburg. This venue descended from Gallery 101, where, as in the 1972 exhibition discussed earlier, Malangatana was presented alongside (black) South African artists.[463]

While framings of modern/contemporary African art constitute a curatorial trope, albeit a heterogeneous

---

[459] The exhibition was shown at the Mittelrheinisches Landesmusseum, Mainz; University of Bayreuth; and Galerie Perlinger, Worgl. U. Beier (ed), *Neue Kunst in Afrika*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1980.

[460] A situation not eased by *Moderne Kunst aus Afrika* dropping "moderne" from the title on the cover.

[461] See Malangatana's box files, Musart.

[462] Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.50.

[463] Pelmama.org, online: http://www.pelmama.org/Johannesburg_artscene_Gallery21_JHB_1977-1993.htm

one; they can be distinguished from alternative conceptualisations of the international which assign a degree of visibility to Africa. As early as 1975 Beier curated the little-known *Contemporary Art from the Third World* at the Institute for Papua New Guinea Studies in Port Moresby, where he was based at the time. Breaking with both the emerging canonical frame for modern African art and the conventionally Eurocentric construction of the international, the exhibition featured ten artists from Mozambique (Malangatana), Nigeria, Haiti, India, Papua New Guinea and Australia.[464]

A more conventional international model can be found in another obscure event (at least for Malangatana studies) that took place in 1976, when he was featured in the *World Surrealist Exhibition* at Gallery Black Swan, Chicago.[465] While the surrealist framing of Malangatana has a long history, dating back to the inception of his career, this was the first of three international surrealist exhibitions to include his work, the two others both being in Portugal (1984, 1994).[466]

---

[464] U. Beier, *Contemporary Art in the Third World*. Port Moresby: Institute of PNG Studies, 1975. For reference to this catalogue and a listing of the artists see T. Lipp (ed), *The Hunter Thinks the Monkey is not Wise: A Bibliography of Writings by Ulli Beier*, Obotunde Ijimere & Co. Bayreuth, 1986, p.33. The online catalogue for the National Library of Australia substitutes "from" for "in" in the title. https:''catalogue.nla.gov.au/Record/330027

[465] For reference to Malangatana's participation in this exhibition see F. Rosemont and R.D.G. Kelley (eds), *Black, Brown and Beige: Surrealist Writings from Africa and the Diaspora,* University of Texas Press, 2009, p. 185. This book refers to a catalogue for this exhibition (F. Rosemont [ed], *Marvelous Freedom/ Vigilance of Desire*, Chicago: Black Swan Press, 1976).

[466] See 3.3.2.2 and 3.4.2.1

Malangatana's biographies commonly refer to a group exhibition in 1985 titled *Homage aux Femmes.* Held in West Germany, this women-themed exhibition is unusual for its alignment with the *11th World Congress of Gynaecology and Obstetrics*, and notable for the fact that Malangatana appears to have been the only African artist included.[467] While the date for this exhibition coincides with the period following Mozambique's joining the IMF and World Bank, when Frelimo was increasingly under pressure to withdraw from its Marxist-Leninist position and was making overtures to western countries, it is revealing that all of Malangatana's exhibitions in West Germany during the post-independence/ revolutionary period appear to have arisen as a consequence of his individual merits rather than as a result of official representations of Mozambique.

If, as suggested above, Malangatana frequently performed a dual role as both an individual artist and as an advocate and representative of Mozambican and/or African art and culture, his identity as an individual artist would become more pronounced during the latter half of the 1980s. This is evidenced through a dramatic increase in the number of solo exhibitions, many of which were retrospectives reflecting on his career.

[467] Held at the International Congress Centre, Berlin. The University of Ghent's Library lists the exhibition catalogue (H.A. Peters and U. Schmitz, *Hommage aux Femmes*. Leverkusen: Bayer, 1985), https://lib.ugent.be/en/catalog/rug01:000357548

3.3.2.5 The return of the solo exhibition, 1985-1989

Malangatana's resignation from the Department of Arts and Crafts in 1985 was marked by an almost immediate shift towards solo exhibitions. In 1985 he held two solo exhibitions in private galleries in Portugal. These were probably modest affairs judging from their venues as well as the apparent absence of catalogues.[468] In 1986, the year of his retrospective exhibition in Maputo, a smaller retrospective began a tour of Europe. Commencing in East Germany,[469] the exhibition travelled to Bulgaria[470] and Austria.[471] Austria and Mozambique had established diplomatic relations in 1976,[472] and was at the time of

[468] Held at the Atelier António Inverno, Lisbon. António Inverno (1944-2016) was a Portuguese artist. The second was at Galeria Almadanada, Almada, in the town Setubal.

[469] This toured the cities of Leipzig, Chiverin, and Berlin. Carvalho et al. Op.cit. P.179. A catalogue was produced by the East German government for the Liepzig exhibition. Karla Bilang, *Malangatana Valente Ngwenya – Grafik – Zeichnungen VT Mocambique*. Liepzig: Ministerium fur Kultur der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1986.

[470] WorldCat lists the catalogue (M. Petrova, *Malangatana: Khudozhnik ot Mozambik*. Sofia: Komiteta za Kultura, 1987), with one copy held by the University of Alabama at Birminghan, USA. The entry identifies the venue as Iziozhbena Galeria, Shipka 6. WorldCat, online: https://www.worldcat.org/title/malangatana-khudozhnik-ot-mozambik-sofiia-shipka-6-iuni-1987/oclc/45698371 .The exhibition was also shown in the city of Plovdiv, according to Núcleo de Arte op.cit

[471] Held at the Palais Pálffy, Vienna, Austria. The venue is a former aristocratic palace that is now used for cultural events. http://www.palais-palffy.at/ Malangatana's relationship to Austria is addressed by Margit Niederhuber-Jakel, "Buscando Marcas: Malangatana e a Áustria", in F. Pereira et al. Op.cit. In her essay, the author expresses her motivation for Malangatana to have his first solo exhibition in Western Europe, beyond Portugal.

[472] Austrian Embassy Pretoria, "Mozambique". Online: https://www.bmeia.gv.at/en/austrian-embassy-pretoria/bilateral-relations/mozambique/

Malangatana's retrospective (1987) ruled by a coalition government in which the Social Democratic Party was dominant. This provides another example of the agency of the Left in the West in facilitating exhibition opportunities for art from socialist countries.[473] From Austria the retrospective went on to Stockholm, and then Oslo.[474]

Opening of Malangatana's retrospective exhibition, Leipzig, 1987.
Source: Malangatana box files, Musart.

[473] I am grateful to Sydney Ogidan for drawing my attention to the fact that at that time Austria had a socialist government (personal communication, Dakar, May 2012). It should also be noted that Mozambique was softening its socialist policies at that time, enabling a rapproachment with the non-socialist West.

[474] The Mozambican programmes in Oslo and Stockholm mentioned earlier appear to have served as the wider platform for his retrospective exhibitions in these cities.

Opening of Malangatana's retrospective exhibition, Sofia, 1987.
Source: CasaComum.org, http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_117639 (2019-2-4)

Also important for Malangatana at this time was an exhibition of paintings at the Havana Bienal (1986).[475] This was not only significant for its role in consolidating relationships between Mozambique and Cuba, but also because of the emerging profile of Havana as a destination on the international biennial circuit.[476] The catalogue reveals that this was effectively a retrospective, although it was not labelled as such.

The 'incompleteness' of the 1986 Maputo retrospective, notably the absence of works housed in Portuguese collections, inspired an ambitious retrospective at the Sociedade Nacional de Belas-Artes, Lisbon (1989), where

[475] *Valente Malangatana.* Havana: Bienal de la Habana, 1986.

[476] For an account of the Havana Biennial in building an alternative internationalism, see M.L. Rojas-Sotelo, *Cultural Maps, Networks and Flows: The history and impact of the Havana biennale 1984 to the present*. University of Pittsburgh: Doctoral thesis, 2009.

Opening of Malangatana's retrospective exhibition, SNBA, Lisbon, 1989.

Source: CasaComum.org, http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_117654 (2019-2-11)

the artist first exhibited in 1972.[477] Also in 1989, Malangatana held a solo exhibition in London, at the Greenwich Citizens Gallery, a venue with a history of exhibiting African artists.[478]

Apart from solo exhibitions Malangatana held two two-person shows during the 1980s. These exhibitions, both officially organised, brought together Mozambique's most celebrated painter with its most acclaimed sculptor, Chissano. The first of these exhibitions, mentioned in

[477] Carvalho et al. Op.cit.

[478] Aresta op.cit. P.37. According to Jantjes op.cit., Greenwhich hosted a radical art community, including the Greenwhich Mural Association, which he was introduced to by ILEA, suggesting again the existence of informal networks that shared ideological interests.

passing above, was in New Dehli, India, 1984; the second in Ankara, Turkey, 1987.[479]

The post-independence period witnessed many shifts, for Mozambique and for Malangatana. It began with a revolutionary idealism that was reflected in an emphasis on collective action, of which the group exhibition promoting national interests formed an integral part. Euphoria was short lived. The newly independent nation was severely traumatised by a new wave of war that was fuelled by external forces but also fed by discontent with Frelimo. By the mid 1980s major policy changes were underway, and it is significant that it was at this time that Malangatana began to be elevated to the status of a national symbol. Certainly, his retrospective marked a turning point in his career. From this point on Malangatana began to place more emphasis on solo exhibitions, as well as on his international career. While this shift can be measured quantitively it would be misleading to posit a linear shift from the political to the personal, the collective to the individual. Rather there was a complex interplay and interdependence at work. Malangatana may have become increasingly famous and recognisable as an artist with an original style but the politics of the Cold War and postcolonial relations were ever present, opening and closing doors for him.

[479] Listed as *"Malangatana and Chissano in Ankara"*. Aresta op.cit. P.36.

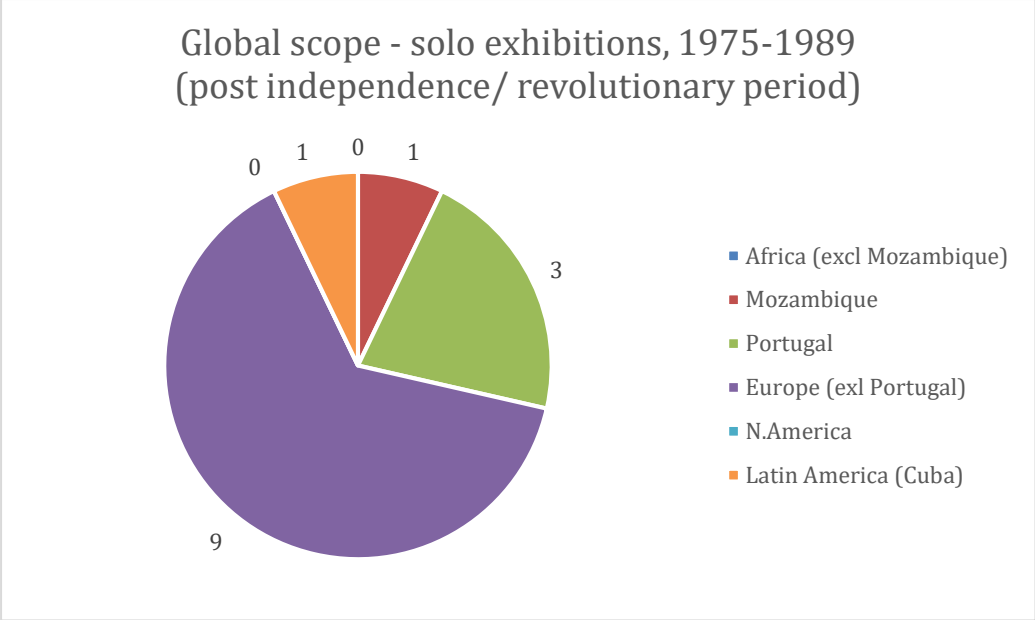


Chart illustrates the importance of Europe for Malangatana's solo exhibitions during the late Cold War years.

3.4 Globalisation (1990-2010)

This section begins in 1990, a year that began with the announcement of political change in South Africa.[480] This development heralded the end of the South African government's support of Renamo; a change in the balance of forces that led to the National Peace Accord in 1992. 1990 ended with a new constitution for Mozambique, paving the way for historic multiparty elections in Mozambique in 1994 (not entirely coincidentally the year of the first democratic elections in South Africa). With Malangatana's death in the first week of 2011, this account ends in 2010, with exhibitions in 2011 treated as posthumous events. For ease of reference these two decades will be referred to as the globalisation period.

[480] On 2 February 1990 President F.W. de Klerk lifted the ban on South Africa's liberation movements and announced that political prisoners would be released.

During this period there was a notable upsurge in the number of international exhibitions, although, as will be discussed below, the number of countries that exhibited Malangatana was substantively less than during the Cold War. This observation is most dramatically evident with regard to his solo exhibitions. Within Mozambique, he sustained his visibility through local exhibitions, marked by a significant increase in the frequency of solo exhibitions.

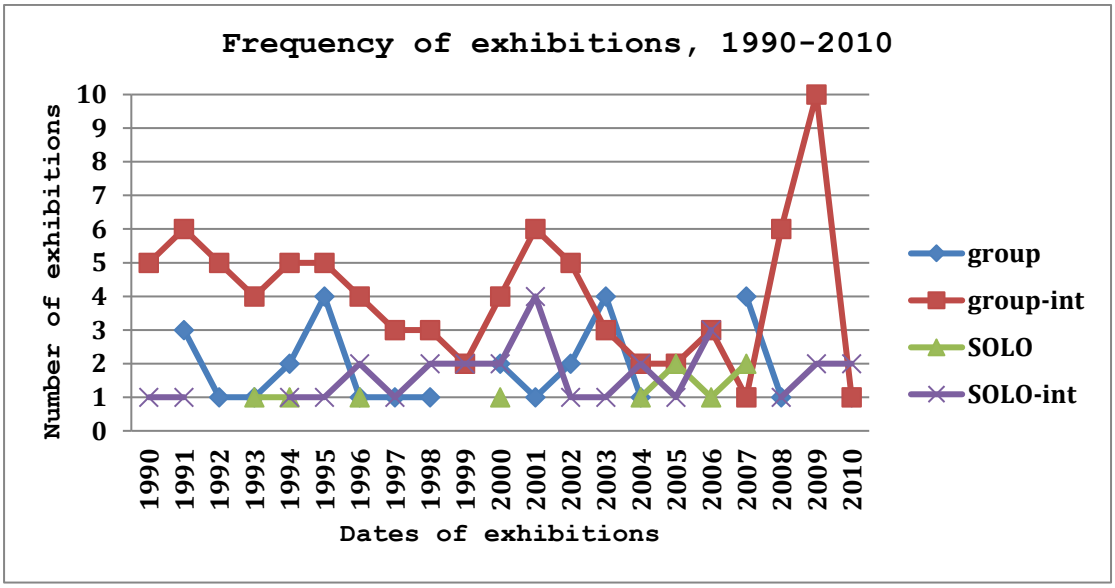


Chart illustrates significant increase in number of exhibitions during globalisation, particularly for international exhibitions (group and solo), as well as solo exhibitions in Mozambique.

3.4.1 Exhibitions in Mozambique, 1991-2010

Having resigned from public office in 1985 to concentrate on his artistic career, Malangatana resumed responsibility as a public official in 1990, when he began a four-year term as a member of parliament. He was also elected to Maputo's Municipal Assembly in 1998, tasked with responsibilities for culture, sport and

youth.[481] Once again, details of his performance of public duties are at best thinly recorded in the literature. What is evident is that during the earlier part of the 1990s his exhibition output in Mozambique was comparatively quiet, with no exhibitions in Mozambique in 1990. Despite this lull, a retrospective account of this period shows that Malangatana maintained a reasonably active artistic profile in Mozambique, especially through solo exhibitions, despite an overall emphasis on his international career.

3.4.1.1 Solo exhibitions in Mozambique, 1993-2007

Malangatana held ten solo exhibitions in Mozambique during globalisation. This compares to a total of four during the Cold War, of which only one was after Independence. The first of his Mozambican solo exhibitions in this period, titled *21 Desenhos* [21 Drawings], was organised by the Friends of Musart and exhibited at the national museum in 1993.[482] *21 Desenhos* featured drawings produced since 1986, the date of his first retrospective. The historical emphasis on works produced since his retrospective demonstrates an intent to emphasise Malangatana's artistic development and his contemporaneous resonance. The Friends of Musart were again active with *Canto a Eros* [Song to Eros] an exhibition of recent etchings, drawings, and watercolours, organised to honour the artist's 60th

[481] Vieira op.cit. P.39.

[482] *Malangatana: 21 desenhos, 1986-1993*. Maputo: O grupo de amigos do Museu Nacional de Arte, 1993.

birthday in 1996.[483] Sex had been an intermittent theme in Malangatana's work over the years, and frequently associated with transgression and violence.[484] With *Canto a Eros* the emphasis fell on the sensuous and pleasurable, with the erotic theme acting as an unspoken analogy for the promise of freedom in the post-war period.

Between the two thematically focused but relatively constrained Musart exhibitions, the artist held a more expansive overview of recent work at the Centro de Estudos Brasileiros in 1994. At the time Navarro questioned the artist whether his stature was not better served by exhibiting at Musart.[485] This line of questioning appears anachronistic today, when one identifies the growing influence of international agencies on the Mozambican art scene; but it illuminates an institutionally-centred paradigm upheld by some of those who actively promoted the artist as national patrimony.

Portuguese agencies provided another source of support for solo exhibitions in this period. *Ver e Sentir* [To See and To Feel], organised by the Maputo-based EPM-CELP in 2005, was a modest retrospective exhibition, spanning the artist's *oeuvre* from 1960 to 2005, and including some of his poetry.[486] In 2007, *Desenhos de Prisão* [Drawings from Prison], organised by the Lisbon-based Mário Soares Foundation was exhibited at a museum in Maputo (Fortaleza de Nª Sra. da Conceição) and at the municipal gallery in

---

[483] *Canto a Eros: Malangatana 1996, 60 anos*. Maputo: O grupo de amigos do Museu Nacional de Arte, 1996.

[484] See discussion of paintings in 5.2 and 5.4.

[485] Navarro, 1994, op.cit. P.17.

[486] A.S. Silva, *Ver e Sentir: Malangatana*. Maputo: EPM-CELP, 2005.

Beira (Casa da Cultura).[487] *Desenhos de Prisão*, which was initially shown in Portugal, was to be the artist's only solo exhibition in Mozambique presented outside the capital. It was also to be his last solo exhibition in Mozambique during the course of his lifetime.

Alongside official venues, be they Mozambican, Brazilian or Portuguese, Banco Comercial e de Investimentos (BCI) provided the space for several of the artist's solo exhibitions in Mozambique during the latter stages of his career. BCI's late but prominent role in exhibiting Malangatana evidences the trend towards the privatisation of the economy and contingent corporate sponsorship of the arts. It further provides evidence of the reciprocal relationship between the nation's leading artist and its financial and political elite. This is graphically evident in his inaugural 2000 exhibit at BCI. A special exhibit of 25 works by Malangatana was arranged to mark the occasion of the 25th anniversary of national independence. This act of numerically matching the number of the artist's works to the age of the postcolonial nation acts as a framing device to signal their common identity, with the bank as host effectively inserting itself into that equation.[488] In another instance the artist's own milestones were commemorated at BCI, with an exhibition on the occasion of his 70th birthday.[489] Other solo exhibitions at BCI occurred in 2004[490] and 2005.[491]

---

[487] Caldeira and André, *op.cit.*

[488] *25 Obras nos 25 Anos do 25 de Junho: Malangatana*. Maputo: BCI, 2000.

[489] Malalangatana: 70 anos, vida e obra [70 years, life and work] listed by Sopa, 2006, op.cit.

[490] Described as a book launch and exhibition. Ibid.

[491] Described as retrospective. Ibid.

Alongside these exhibitions, the bank produced promotional material with an ostensible focus on Malangatana,[492] and in 2003 the artist even produced a mural that literally acts as a decorative frame for their ATM machines.[493]

3.4.1.2 Group exhibitions in Mozambique, 1991–2010

The frequency of Malangatana's participation in group exhibitions in Mozambique resumed from 1991, having declined in the latter half of the 1980s. There were at least 29 group exhibitions in Maputo between 1991 and 2010, of which one travelled to Beira.[494] The main pattern that emerges from an analysis of these group shows is the change in the field from the revolutionary period, when state sponsorship and overtly political themes were dominant. While this development can be read into his solo exhibitions, it is more explicitly evident in an analysis of his group shows. This pattern is manifest in the increasing presence of the parastatal Telecommunicações de Moçambique (TDM) as a sponsor of

[492] BCI, untitled brochure, c.2004.
[493] BCI [advertisement], "Obra Malangatana na Sede do BCI". Maputo: *Jornal Noticias*, 2003.
[494] This exhibition is listed with an Italian title and Portuguese subtitle, *Festival dei Diritti - Apoio às crianças de rua* [Festival of Rights: Support for street children, 2003]. *Art Africa* op.cit. It was also shown in Ferrara, Italy, where the Festival was inaugurated in 2002. Festival de Diritti [website], online: http://www.festivaldeidiritti.it/ .It is unclear in which city *Lusonias/Lusophonies*, the Lisbon-based Perve Gallery's travelling exhibition (discussed in 3.4.2.1) was exhibited in Mozambique in 2009.

biennial exhibitions,[495] along with the banking sector,[496] and not least, international agencies based in Mozambique, notably the Camões Institute,[497] the Centro Cultural Franco Moçambicano,[498] and the Centro de Estudos Brasileiros.[499] Consistent with the shift from the earlier

[495] R. Fernandes, *Exposição TDM*. Maputo: Telecommunicações de Moçambique, 1991; R. Fernandes and O Grupo Coordenador, *Catálogo: Bienal TDM'93.* Maputo: TDM, 1993; R. Fernandes, *Catálogo: Bienal TDM'95*. Maputo: TDM, 1995; R. Fernandes and M.C. Mkaima, *Exposição Anual MUSART TDM'97*. Maputo: Museu Nacional de Arte, 1997; A. Costa, *A Maquina que Queria Voar: Uma selecção da colleção de arte da TDM*. Maputo: TDM, 2007 [exhibited at Musart]. For an account of the TDM biennial's pivotal role in the Mozambican art world, see Schwartzott op.cit. Pp.229-234. For commentary on the emphasis on corporate branding in the presentation of TDM catalogues see Pissarra, 2018, op.cit. Pp.60-61.

[496] A.M. Osman, *Caminhos Convergentes: BCI Fomentos – 10 anos*. Maputo: BCI Fomento, 2007; and Banco de Moçambique, *XXXV Aniversario do Banco de Moçambique*. Maputo: Banco de Moçambique, 2010. Both these exhibitions were at Musart.

[497] *Plasticidades em Moçambique*. Maputo: Instituto Camões – Centro Cultural Português, 2000; *Exposição Colectiva de Artes Plásticas*. Maputo: Instituto Camões – Centro Cultural Português, 2003; J. Massimbe and A. Braga, *Mostra Colectiva de Artes Plásticas Moçambicanas e da Colecção do Musart de pintura Portuguêsa do Periodo Anterior a Independência.* Maputo: Instituto Camões – Centro Cultural Português, 2004. Elsewhere, I have foregrounded the new emphasis on individual artists as evident in the presentation of catalogues published by the Camões Institute. Pissarra, 2018, op.cit. Pp.65-66.

[498] *Aspectos de Arte Contemporanea Moçambicana*, 1995, is listed by Sopa, 2006, op.cit. See also M. Couto, *Sonata a Três Mãos*. Maputo: Centro Cultural Franco Moçambicano, 2007.

[499] *Homenagem a Eugênio Lemos*, 2003, listed by Sopa, 2006, op.cit. An exhibition in aid of armoury explosion victims was held at this venue in 2007. Reference to this exhibition, including Malangatana's participation, was found in an online notification for this event, the details of which are no longer accessible on the site. http://maputo.wantedinafrica.com/events/show-event.php?id_event=8139. For a revised notice, without reference to participating artists,

emphasis on official venues and contingent to the subsequent broadening of the field, exhibitions with overt political themes were less prominent during globalisation.[500] In some instances party politics were replaced by unifying themes in the interests of national reconciliation.[501] Social themes, sometimes implicitly linked to the legacy or aftermath of war, represented a new trend. Examples of the new social agenda included an exhibit promoting HIV/Aids education;[502] one drawing attention to the relatively new problem of street children;[503] and a benefit for the victims of an arms explosion.[504] Arguably the most significant of the socially concerned exhibitions was one organised by the Sindicato Nacional dos Jornalistas to mark the assasination of journalist Carlos Cardoso. Cardoso was

---

https://www.wantedinafrica.com/whatson/exhibition-in-aid-of-armoury-explosion-victims.html

[500] Malangatana participated in at least three explicitly politically themed exhibitions during globalisation: *Artistas Plásticos em Apoio ao VI Congresso do Partido Frelimo* [Plastic Artists in Support of the 6th Congress of Frelimo], Núcleo de Arte, 1991, listed by Sopa, 2006, op.cit.; *Samora Sempre Presente!* [Samora Always Present!] Maputo: Musart, 1996; and A. Sopa and Harun Harun, *Expo Musart 2000: Commemorações das Bodas de Prata da Independência Nacional.* Maputo: Musart, 2000.

[501] Two examples refer directly to peace, their timing suggesting their intent in marking the end of the Civil War. 7 *Artistas 33 Obras – Com uma Mensagem de Paz* [7 Artists 33 Works – With a Message of Peace], Associação Moçambicano de Fotografia, 1992, listed by Sopa, 2006, op.cit.; and, a decade later, *Paz e Compreensão Mundial* [Peace and World Understanding], exhibited at Fortaleza de Maputo, 2002, listed by *Art Africa* op.cit.

[502] A. Barreto, T. Crucitti, and M. Haertjens, *Objectivo Linha Aberta* [Objective Open Line]. Maputo: Mark Haertjens, 1994. Exhibition held at Musart and Associação Moçambicana de Fotografia, Maputo.

[503] *Art Africa* op. cit. See Note 494 above.

[504] See note 499 above.

killed while investigating a banking scandal in 2000, and it was alleged that the hit was ordered by President Chissano's eldest son.[505] This exhibition was in essence a call for solidarity and action against organised crime and corruption, phenomena synonymous with the underbelly of globalisation. The artist's participation signalled his alignment with the fearless investigative spirit emobodied by Cardoso, and can be read as a symbolic act of distancing from a corrupt elite.[506]

In contrast to group exhibitions organised around political and social themes, this period provided some space for exhibitions to create space to think about art.[507] An exhibition paying tribute to women suggests its home in the social themes curatorial frame, although indications are that this was more of a conventional art exhibition than part of a programme to foreground issues affecting women.[508] This is suggested by the venue, associated with an initiative to professionalise exhibitions in Mozambique.[509] Less ambiguous in intent, several of the group shows held at international cultural centres in Maputo conform to conventional curatorial tropes for group shows, as do the TDM biennales, along

---

[505] "How Carlos Cardoso was murdered", *Mail & Guardian*, 1 January 2002. Online: https://mg.co.za/article/2002-01-01-how-carlos-cardoso-was-murdered/

[506] P. Rolletta (ed), *Exposição de Artes Plásticas Moçambicanas*. Maputo: Sindicato Nacional dos Jornalistas, 2002.

[507] The customary lack of recorded detail can make it difficult to identify the character of some exhibitions, e.g. a group show in Mozambique, 1998, listed by Aresta op.cit. P.40.

[508] *Homenagem a Mulher*, Galeria Afritique, Maputo, 1991. Sopa, 2006, op.cit.

[509] Costa, 2005, op.cit. Pp.340-342.

with some of the exhibits at Musart (1994)[510] and Núcleo de Arte (2001).[511] An ambitious attempt in 1995 to present a comprehensive overview of art from the whole country, through the form of a national competition, presented another platform to foreground the state of contemporary Mozambican art.[512] At the other end of the expansive survey, there were two exclusive pairings with Malangatana during this period. The first was a three-person show with Gemuce and Mieke Oldenburg in 2007;[513] the second a two-person show in Mozambique with José Forjaz, one of Mozambique's most prominent architects (2008).[514] The former example affirms the veteran's ongoing relevance by pairing him with one of the prime activators of a new generation along with a visting international artist; the latter affirms his stature by associating his relief sculpture with architecture.[515]

Along with the changes in the political and art fields one can observe significant shifts in the roles played by Malangatana in group exhibitions in Mozambique. In the anti/colonial period he was a rapidly ascendant star, and group shows were an important supplement to scarce

---

[510] *IV Exposição Annual*, listed by Sopa, 2006, op.cit.

[511] Identified simply as "colectiva", ibid.

[512] Augusto Cabral, *Descoberta: Concurso nacional de artes plásticas*. Maputo: Casa da Cultura do Alto Mãe, 1995.

[513] Couto, 2007, op.cit.

[514] Held at *Fortaleza de Maputo.* M. Couto and L. B. Honwana, *Malangatana [&] Forjaz: Celebrando as artes "pedra e arquitectura"*. Maputo, 2008. Subtitle translates as "celebrating stone and architecture arts".

[515] Forjaz was born in the same year as Malangatana, and worked for Guedes at the time Malangatana was supported by Guedes. They collaborated on several projects, notably the development of the Matalana Cultural Centre.

opportunities for solo exhibits. In the post-independence period, especially the first decade, Malangatana worked hard to situate the visual arts as part of the new revolutionary ethos, and his participation in group shows affirmed his collective spirit. But from the 1990s Malangatana was more than a senior figure, he was one of the *consagrados* (the consecrated ones). His role in group shows in Mozambique became increasingly that of solidarity with fellow artists in growing the art field, with his stature adding gravitas to many of these exhibitions.[516]

3.4.2 International exhibitions, 1990-2010

A significant increase in the frequency of international exhibitions (both solo and group) and a wide-range of exhibition tropes challenges reductive readings of the roles performed by Malangatana during globalisation. Nonetheless, two major patterns can be discerned: i) the extent to which postcolonial relations with the former colonising power came to dominate his career; and ii) the affirmation of his canonical position as a pioneering African modernist. Surprisingly, the overlap between these prominent patterns is minimal, as their identification emerges from analysing different sets of data pertaining, in the main, to the distinction between individual and collective exhibitions. These two patterns exist in relation to various curatorial tropes, such as national, regional, and international surveys, thematic

[516] This is reflected in catalogues for the TDM biennial, with the artist consistently listed among the invited artists, distinguishing his contribution from the majority whose works were subjected to selection by jury.

exhibitions and historical surveys that embody a range of interests encompassing the political, social, economic and aesthetic.

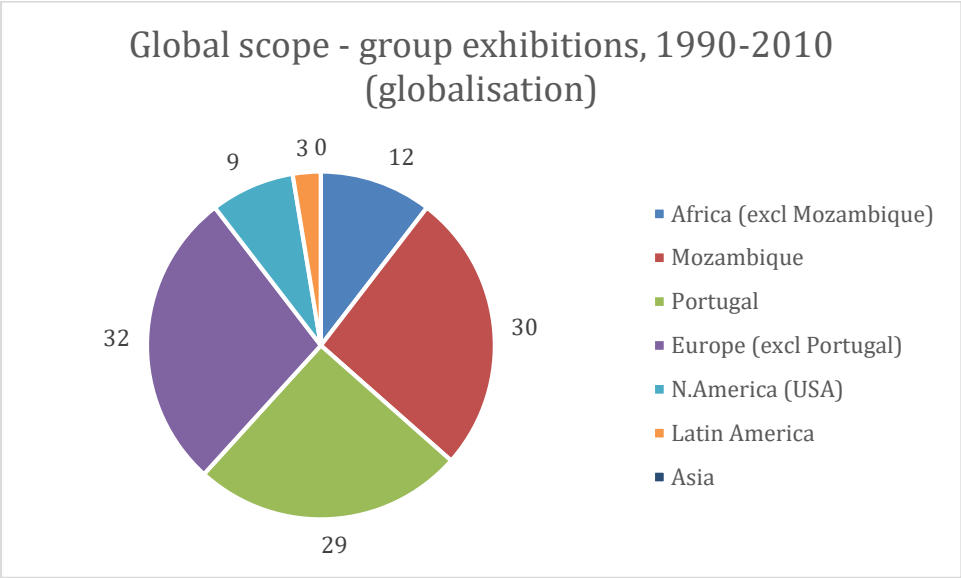


Chart illustrates the approximate equivalence in numbers of group exhibitions in Mozambique, Portugal, and other European countries during globalisation, with increased visibility in the USA.

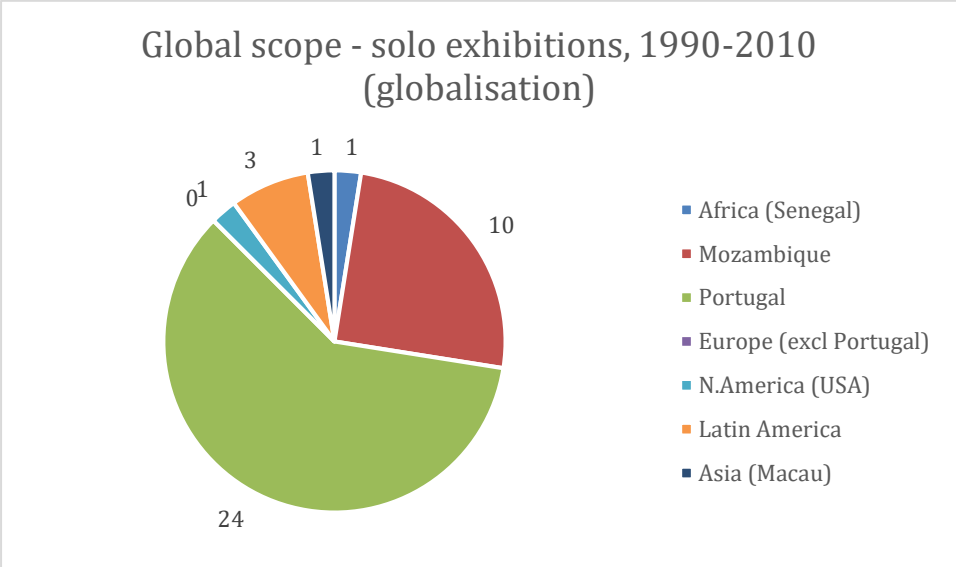


Chart illustrates an emphatic emphasis on solo exhibitions in Portugal during globalisation, with none held in other European countries.

Nigerian curator Bisi Silva reminds us that "in the 1990s, the lauded benefits of globalisation and its tenets of openness, fluidity, and notions of interconnectedness implied that it affected or impacted everyone in the same way."[517] The emergence of Portugal as central to Malangatana's career after the Cold War suggests that in this instance postcolonial relations between former coloniser and colonised superceded globalisation's claims to a wide-open world.

Indeed, an analysis of the international locations of Malangatana's exhibitions during and after the Cold War disrupts globalisation's promise of expanded horizons. Malangatana held solo exhibitions in possibly as many as 12 countries during the Cold War, and only six during globalisation (one of which, Macau, was a Portuguese colony). Similarly, Malangatana participated in group shows in 30 countries during the Cold War, and in 20 afterwards.

The decline in number of countries during globalisation can, in the main, be attributed to the changing political environment. As many as 14 countries that exhibited Malangatana during the Cold War did not show his work after the fall of the Berlin Wall. These countries (with date or period of exhibitions indicated) are: Pakistan (c.1962), Czechoslovakia (1972), Papua New Guinea (1975), Nigeria (1961-1977), Rhodesia/Zimbabwe (1962-1980), Netherlands (1981), India (1962-1984), Cuba (1979-1986), Tunisia (c.1986), Austria (1980-1987), Sweden (1980-

[517] B. Silva, "Creating Space for a Hundred Flowers to Bloom", in S. Baptist (ed), *Àsìkò: On the future of artistic and curatorial pedagogies in Africa*". Lagos: Centre for Contemporary Art, 2017, p.xiv.

1987), Turkey (1987), Bulgaria (1981-1988), and Japan (c.1988).[518] In contrast, seven countries exhibited his work for the first time during globalisation – Scotland (1990), Ireland (1990), Chile (1994), Colombia (1998), Iceland (1998), Namibia (2000), and Mali (2008). Significantly, the first two of these – Scotland and Ireland – were actually organised *during* the Cold War, as discussed below. This clearly underlines that whereas the number of his exhibitions increased with globalisation, the artist's global panorama reduced in scope after the Cold War. Despite the evident asymmetrical relationship between the scope and frequency of his exhibitions, proving a direct causal link between Cold War politics and the cessation of exhibitions in specific countries requires a more nuanced analysis. Certainly, in some cases, specific factors (such as the pivotal role of the mercurial Ulli Beier in the examples of the Czechoslovakia and Papua New Guinea exhibitions) need to be considered. On the other hand, without further information it is difficult to interpret continuities such as a singular group show in Russia 1997,[519] nor group exhibitions in Italy in 1995 and 2003.[520] And while it can be argued that Cold War politics impacted in various ways

[518] I have excluded East Germany from this list, although it can be observed that later exhibits in the reunified Germany all took place in the former West Germany.

[519] Aresta *op.cit*. P.39. The work of the Soviet Afro-Asian solidarity committee in supporting cultural activity bears further investigation. For a Soviet perspective on the Cold War in the subcontinent see V. Shubin, *The Hot "Cold War": The USSR in Southern Africa*. London: Pluto Press & Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2008.

[520] In Termoli and Modena. *Art Africa* op.cit.

on the specific countries listed,[521] it is also necessary to rethink the instrumentalist views of culture as "soft power" serving the interests of the two opposing global superpowers, a perspective that dominates analyses of the impact of the Cold War on global culture.[522] In an analysis of the global impact of Italian art and film during the Cold War, Gardner, Nicholls and White argue that one should not underestimate the agency of supposedly marginal countries in using culture to forge beneficial relations outside of the hegemonic Cold war narrative.[523] Their argument for the recognition of a "Cold War cosmopolitanism" where "cultural producers [from 'peripheral' cultures and countries] worked with colleagues and their ideas to produce new professional networks, dialogues and forms of cultural exchange"[524] resonates when one attempts to reconcile the apparent anomaly of a greater diversity of international contacts within a historical period that is traditionally represented as a closed circuit.

3.4.2.1 Portugal and the lusophone world, 1990-2010

Portugal had begun to be an important site for Malangatana's career in the late anti/colonial period, and there were intermittent showings in Portugal after independence. However, it was only after the Cold War

---

[521] See discussion on these examples in 3.2.2.1; 3.3.2.1; 3.3.2.3; and 3.3.2.5.

[522] A. Gardner, M. Nicholls, and A. White, "Cold War Cultures and Globalisation: Art and film in Italy: 1946-1963". London: *Third Text* 115 (v.26 n.2), 2012, p.206.

[523] Ibid.

[524] Ibid. P.214.

that the former colonial power came to occupy a pivotal role in his career. This observation is supported by an analysis of the geo-political scope and frequency of his solo exhibitions. Following the end of the Cold War Malangatana held no less than 24 solo exhibitions in Portugal. In comparison, during this same period he held ten solo exhibits in Mozambique, and six elsewhere – Chile (Santiago, 1994),[525] Macau (1996), Colombia (Medellin, 1998),[526] Brazil (1998),[527] USA (2002), and Senegal (Dakar, 2006).

In contrast, during his 30-year long exhibition career prior to the end of the Cold War, Malangatana held seven solo exhibitions in Portugal, four in Mozambique, and possibly as many as 13 solo exhibitions in nine other countries – Nigeria (Ibadan and Oshogbo, 1962), USA (New York, 1965), Cuba (Havana, 1986), East Germany (Leipzig, Cheverin, Berlin, 1986), Bulgaria (Sofia, Plovdiv, 1987), Austria (Vienna, 1987), Sweden (Stockholm, 1987), Norway (Oslo, 1987), and England (London, 1989).

If one looks more closely at the post Cold War exhibits it becomes evident that the lusophone frame was strongly at play during globalisation. In addition to the 34 solo exhibitions in Portugal and Mozambique, the exhibition in Macau was organised as part of a celebration of

---

[525] The organiser of this exhibition, Rodrigo Gonçalves, met Malangatana in the early post-independence period, when he lived and worked in Mozambique. R. Gonçalves et al. *Malangatana.* Santiago, Chile, 1994. Malangatana discusses his experiences in Chile in Navarro, 1994, op.cit. P.17.

[526] Malangatana exhibited drawings and watercolours in Medellin. *Art Africa* op.cit. He appeared at the 8th International Poetry Festival in Medellin in that year.

[527] Fundação Nabuco, Recife. *Art Africa* op.cit.

Portuguese identity;[528] and Brazil is a lusophone country. Even the USA exhibition, at the David Winton Brown Gallery at Brown University, 2002, was organised by the University's Portuguese and Brazilian Studies Department within the framework of international Portuguese relations.[529]

That leaves only three of 40 post Cold War solo exhibitions as having been organised outside of Portuguese speaking environments. Noticeably, two of these were in Chile and Colombia, i.e. in Spanish speaking countries in Latin America. Only the Dakar exhibition occurred outside of a luso/latin axis.

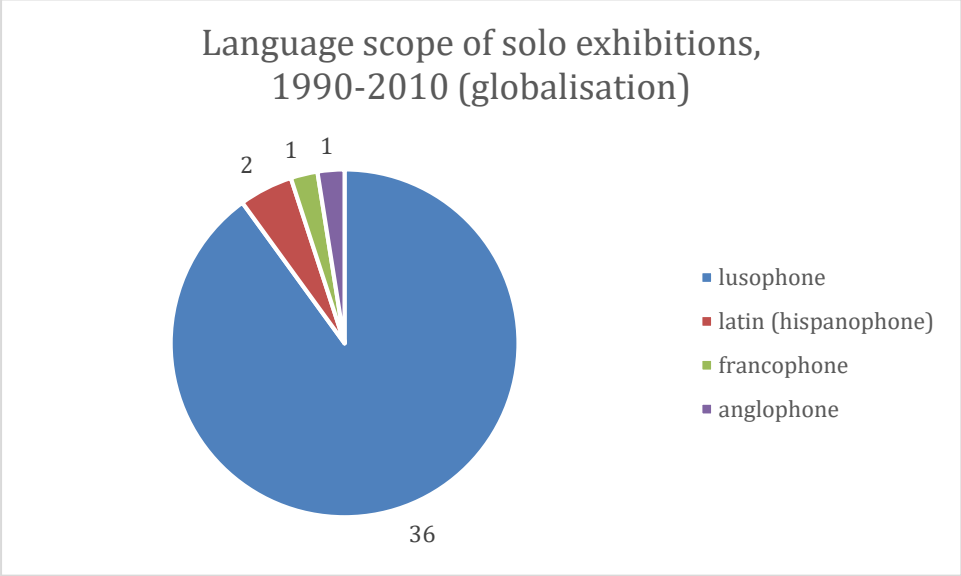


Chart highlights prominence of lusophone countries (including Mozambique) as sites for solo exhibitions during globalization.

[528] Held at the Instituto Cultural de Macau, to commemorate the Portuguese poet Luís Camões and Portuguese communities worldwide.REF

[529] The exhibition took the form of a retrospective, and formed part of an international conference titled "Portuguese/African Encounters". http://www.brown.edu/Administration/News_Bureau/2001-02/01-099.html

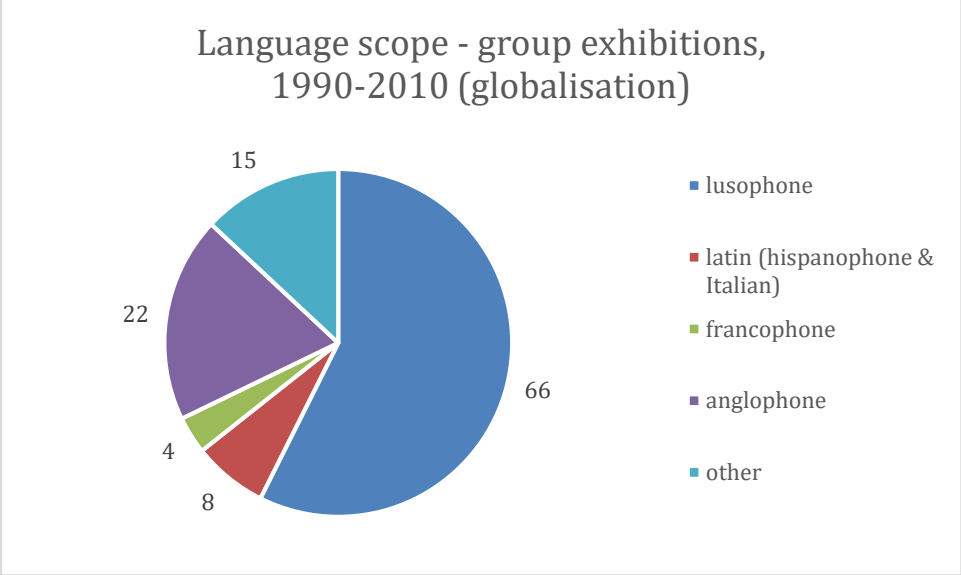


Chart confirms strong representation of group shows in lusophone countries during globalisation, although representation in non-lusophone countries remains significant.

It is indeed surprising to realise that while Malangatana held considerably fewer solo exhibitions *during* the Cold War these reached a much wider geo-cultural spectrum. Apart from Mozambique and Portugal, solo exhibitions were held in nine non-lusophone countries, with one of these being hispanophone.[530] This suggests a greater success, perhaps even political will, to build relations outside of historically embedded cultural links. Clearly the "Cold War cosmopolitanism" annunciated by Gardner et al is a matter of historical fact, although it also clear that with globalisation several of these new cultural relationships were disrupted. This in turn raises questions of the extent to which these relations were principally political in character.

[530] Nigeria, the USA, GDR, Bulgaria, Austria, Sweden, Norway, England. Cuba was the only 'Spanish' country where he held a solo exhibition during the Cold War.

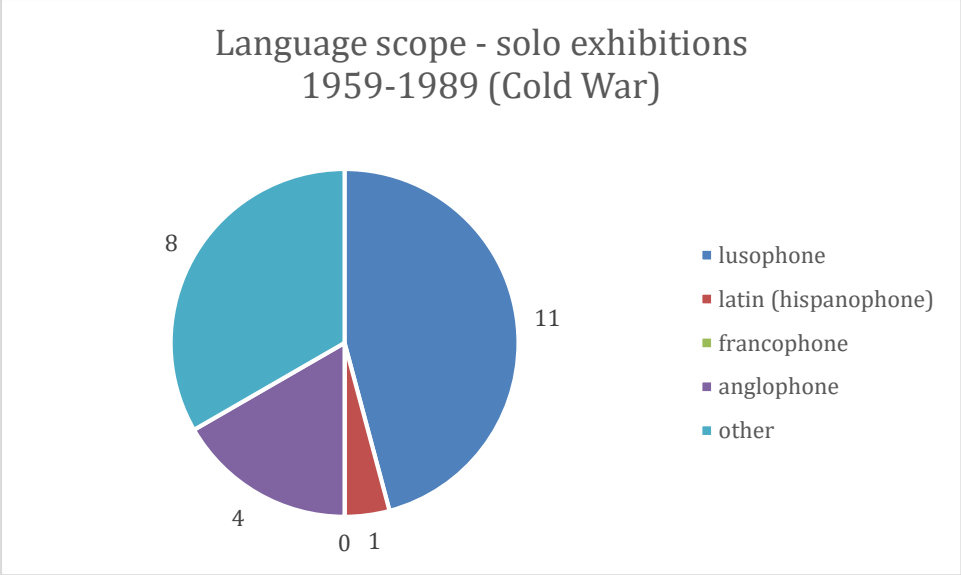


Chart illustrates that most Cold War solo exhibitions were in non-lusophone contexts.

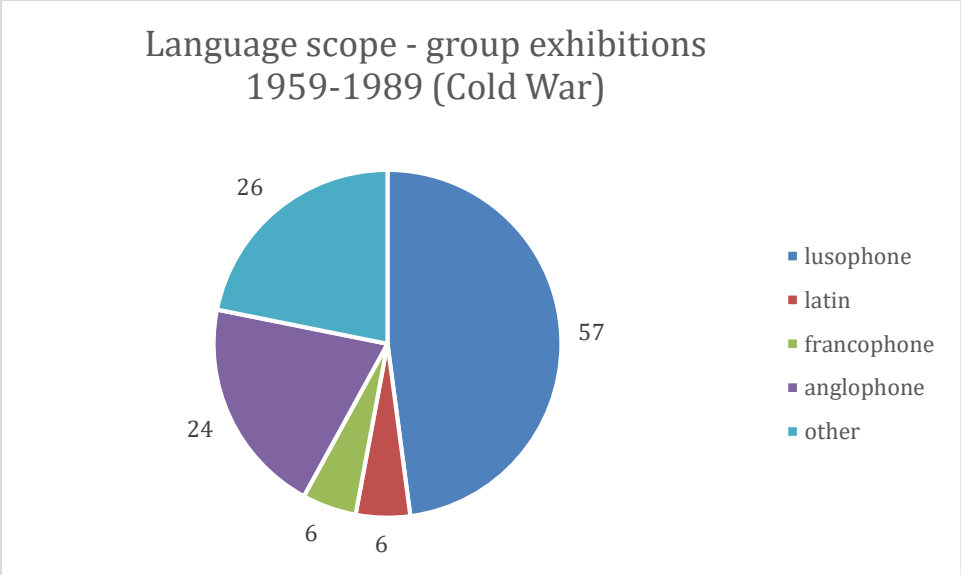


Chart confirms similar pattern to solo exhibitions in same period.

A striking observation concerning Malangatana's solo exhibitions in Portugal during globalisation is that whereas earlier shows were invariably in Lisbon this pattern reversed in the 1990s, with his work being shown across the country. This contrasts with Mozambique where his work was seldom exhibited outside of Maputo. One third of Malangatana's Portuguese solo exhibitions during globalisation were in Lisbon. These were at an

unidentified venue (1990),[531] Espaço Oikos (1995),[532] Galeria Diferenca (1996),[533] Camões Institute (1999),[534] the Museum of Modern Art, Chiado (2003),[535] ISPA (2004),[536] the Mário Soares Foundation (2006),[537] and Galeria Valbom (2008).[538] Twice as many were in locale as diverse as Viseu (1991),[539] Sintra (1997),[540] Palmela (1999, 2001),[541]

[531] Aresta op.cit. P.37.

[532] Sopa, 2006, op.cit.

[533] Malangatana "…uma pagina esquecida", referenced by Pomar. Online: https://alexandrepomar.typepad.com/alexandre_pomar/2012/04/multiculturais.html

[534] F. de Mira, M. de Graça, A. Cabral, et al. *Malangatana: de Matalana a Matalana.* Lisboa: Instituto Camões, 1999. The exhibition was organised and produced by the Mozambican Ministry of Foreign affairs.

[535] *Art Africa* op.cit. Organised by the Luso-Brazilian Foundation, headed by Frederico Pereira, the director of ISPA.

[536] F. Pereira et al. Op.cit.

[537] Caldeira and André op.cit.

[538] Titled *Vivencias. Art Africa* op.cit.

[539] Documentary photographs published by the Mário Soares Foundation identify this exhibition as a travelling event. http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=07364.005.013

[540] Held at the municipal hall. *Art Africa* op.cit. Sintra was incidentally where Guedes relocated from Mozambique.

[541] Both held at Galeria Santiago. *Art Africa* op.cit. The exhibition catalogue (*Malangatana Valente: Catálogo de exposição do pintor realizada na Galeria de Arte Santiago*. Palmela: Edição Santiago, 2001) is listed by V.R. de Oliveira Ribeiro, "A Reinvenção de Sonhos e Memorias em Poemas de José Craveirinha e Telas de Malangatana Valente". Universidade Unigranrio: *Revista Electrônica do Instituto de Humanidades*, v.2 n.9, April-June 2004.

Evora (2000, 2001, 2010),[542] Amadora (2000),[543] Barreiro (2001),[544] Viana do Castelo (2001),[545] Cantanhede (2004),[546] Povoa de Varzim (2005),[547] Aveiro (2006),[548] Guarda

[542] The first two of these exhibits are listed by *Art Africa* op.cit. The venue for the first was a church. The third exhibit in Evora was organised to coincide with the artist's honorary doctorate from the University of Evora, and was funded by the Gulbenkian Foundation. 50 works were featured in a retrospective exhibition at the Palacio Dom Manuel. A large catalogue contains characteristically short texts. M. Rebelo de Sousa, F. Meigos, M. Santos, et al. *Malangatana: 50 anos de pintura 450 anos* da Universidade. Evora: Universidade de Evora, 2010.

[543] Held at the municipal hall. *Art Africa* op.cit.

[544] Titled *Incomati e Tejo Bailando,* held at the municipal hall. *Art Africa* op.cit. This is presumably the same exhibition in Barreiro in 2001 that Sopa describes as a mini-retrospective at Galeria Parque de Paz. Sopa, 2006, op.cit.

[545] Ibid.

[546] Bibliografia Nacional Portuguesa provides details of the catalogue (*Cumplicidades: Exposição de pintura e desenho/ Malangatana Valente Ngwenya*. Cantanhede: Municipio, 2004). Online: http://bibliografia.bnportugal.pt/bnp/bnp.exe/q?mfn=173652&qf_CDU==75MALANGATANA(083.82)

[547] This exhibition was held in the municipal library to augment a gathering of writers. Anon. [*Zambeze*], 17 February 2005, op.cit. Bibliotecas da Universide de Coimbra provides details of the exhibition catalogue *(Escritas de Cor: Pinturas e desenhos de Malangatana*. Povoa de Varzim: Câmara Municipal, 2005). Online: http://webopac.sib.uc.pt/record=b1796352&searchscope=0

[548] Caldeira and André, op.cit.

(2009),[549] Coimbra (2009),[550] and Almada (2010),[551] demonstrating an unprecedented range of exhibitions across Portugal. One of the Portuguese exhibitions, *Desenhos de Prisão*, travelled to Mozambique, incidentally the artist's only solo exhibition in Mozambique that was seen outside of Maputo.

Invitation for retrospective exhibition organised to coincide with the award of an Honorary Doctorate, University of Evora, 2010.
Source:
http://2.bp.blogspot.com/_lMPxOfSF22I/TScDuS1iACI/AAAAAAAABWA/KdlNqygckc0/s1600/1265974607I5kYX3fy5Ql64HS3.jpg

---

[549] António Melo. *Encontro com Malangatana*. Guarda: Teatro Municipal. Organised by Filomena André of the Mário Soares Foundation, this catalogue is listed by Bibliografia Nacional Portuguesa. Online: http://bibliografia.bnportugal.pt/bnp/bnp.exe/registo?1797843 For an account of this exhibition, see Anon. "Pintor Malangatana vai receber Honoris Causa da Universidade de Évora". Moçambique Para Todos [blog], 12 September 2009. Online:
http://macua.blogs.com/moambique_para_todos/2009/09/pintor-malangatana-vai-receber-honoris-causa-da-universidade-de-%C3%A9vora.html

[550] Titled *Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane – Pastor de Manjacaze*. Galeria Pinho Dinis. The exhibition was organised by the Department of Women's Studies at the University of Coimbra.

[551] The catalogue (Emilia Ferreira [ed], *Malangatana: Novos sonhos a preto e branco*. Almada: Casa da Cerca – Centro de Arte Contemporanea, 2010) is listed by Bibliografia Nacional Portuguesa, http://bibliografia.bnportugal.gov.pt/bnp/bnp.exe/registo?1788693

The number, spread and sustained frequency of solo exhibitions in Portugal during globalisation suggests a significant degree of organisation within the former metropole. Acknowledgments and prefaces in catalogues suggest that many, perhaps all, benefitted from the direct support of official political, educational and cultural structures, Portuguese and Mozambican. The predominance of public institutions rather than private galleries for his solo exhibitions suggests the support of the Portuguese government (local if not always national). It appears to have been customary for the political and cultural elite to attend these exhibitions which served as a matrix for the intersection of political, cultural and artistic interests.[552]

Apart from solo exhibitions, Malangatana participated in at least 29 group shows in Portugal during globalisation. This includes a travelling two-person show with his compatriot, Idasse Tembe.[553] Some of these exhibitions can be regarded as officially sanctioned acts of cultural diplomacy. These included the Mozambican pavilion for *Expo 98* in Lisbon, where Malangatana was vice-

[552] Malangatana was increasingly outspoken on his dual hertitage as Mozambican/African and Portuguese/European. See I. do Amaral "Recordando Malangatana Valente Ngwenya (1936-2011)", in Lourido, op.cit. P.39.

[553] Shown in Lisbon, Coimbra, Evora, and Porto. *Perve Gallery* [website]. Online:

https://www.pervegaleria.eu/PerveOrg/Galeria/Acervo_06/Biografias/bio_idasse.htm

This pairing of artists was subsequently revisited a decade later with exhibitions in Evora (Igreja de S. Vicente, a church used for temporary exhibitions; and Academia de Musica Eborense). Sopa, 2006, op.cit.

commissioner;[554] an exhibition of Mozambican art at the Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes (1999);[555] a commemorative exhibition for Mozambique's national day of peace at the Mozambican embassy (2006);[556] and a survey of recent Mozambican art that was organised within the framework of a nation-wide Portuguese Week programme (2007).[557]

While Malangatana's presence in Portugal corroborates the view of him as a cultural ambassador for Mozambique, it is significant that he featured in no less than five group exhibitions that explored transnational lusophonic identity. Inês Dias observes the rise of lusophonic themes in Portuguese literature in the 1990s, followed by curated exhibitions. She links this trend to Portugal's impending entry into the European Union, arguing that an emphasis on lusophonic identity helped enhance Portugal's stature in its bid to secure greater international influence.[558] The relevant exhibitions are: *Além de Taprobana: A figura humana nas artes plásticas dos paises de língua portuguesa* at SNBA, Lisbon, 1994;[559] *Colectiva*

---

[554] Sopa, 2006, op.cit. For this event Malangatana produced an ambitious series of large-scale panels that were commemorated in postcard form. Expo '98 Moçambique, *Malangatana* [series of six postcards].

[555] P. Comissario and J.M. de Melo, *Arte* Moç*ambicana*. *Lisboa,* 1999.

[556] A catalogue was produced for this exhibition, according to Pomar. Online: https://alexandrepomar.typepad.com/alexandre_pomar/2012/04/multiculturais.html

[557] A. Costa, A.P. Ribeiro, B.A. Aly, et al. *Artistas de Moçambique: Percursos recentes.* Lisboa: Embaixada de Moçambique, 2007.

[558] I.C. Dias, "Curating Contemporary Art and the Critique of Lusofonie". Centro de Estudos de Etnologia Portuguesa: *Arquivos da Memória* n.5-6, 2009, pp.6,8.

[559] The title translates as "Beyond Taprobana: the human figure in the plastic arts of Portuguese speaking countries". The phrase "além de

Lusofona, Pintura Affinidades at Galeria Municipal Gymnasio, 1999;[560] *PortAfricas*, which toured Portugal in 2002;[561] *Réplica e Rebeldia* [Replica and Rebellion],at the Camões Institute, Lisbon, 2006;[562] and *Lusophonies/ Lusofonias,* at the Perve Gallery, Lisbon, 2009.[563] Fittingly for their lusophonic themes, two of these exhibitions toured internationally: *Além da Taprobana* travelled to the Museum of Modern Art, Brazil, 1995;[564] and *Lusophonies/ Lusofonias* was shown in Senegal, Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, and Brazil.[565] Apart from these travelling exhibitions, Malangatana also participated in

---

Taprobana" is from the opening stanza of Luís de Camões' epic poem *Os Lusiadas*. Taprobana was the name for Sri Lanka, then a Portuguese colony. In the poem Taprobana signifies the end of the known world, which the Portuguese explorers were sailing beyond. Luís de Camões, *Os Lusiadas*. Porto: Livraria Tavares Martins, 1965, p.3. For reference to the exhibition, *Enciclopedia Itaú Cultural de Arte e Cultura Brasileiras*, "Malangatana". São Paulo: Itaú Cultural, 2018. Online: http://enciclopedia.itaucultural.org.br/pessoa20779/malangatana

[560] A catalogue (J. Narciso [ed], *Colectiva Lusófona: Pintura: Afinidades*. Lisboa: Câmara Municipal, Departmento da Cultura, Galeria Municipal Gymnasio, 1999) is listed by http://docbweb.cm-lisboa.pt/plinkres.asp?Base=ISBD&Form=COMP&SearchTxt=%22ED+C%E2mara+Municipal.+Departamento+de+Cultura.+Divis%E3o+de+Bibliotecas+e+Documenta%E7%E3o%22&StartRec=115&RecPag=5

[561] I.B. Martins and M.L. Casal, *PortÁfricas: Exposição colectiva de Pintores Africanos – Angola/ Cabo Verde/ Guine Bissau/* Moçambique*/ S. Tome e Principe* (Portugal), 2002. This exhibition toured Portugal, being shown at Biblioteca Municipal Almeida Garrett, Porto; Museu Armindo Teixeira Lopes, Mirandela; Casa Falcão, Macedo de Cavaleiros; and Biblioteca Municipal, Carrazeda de Ansiaes.

[562] A.P. Ribeiro (ed), *Replica e Rebeldia: Artistas de Angola, Cabo Verde e Moçambique*. Lisboa: Instituto Camões, 2006.

[563] C.C. Nunes, *Lusophonies/ Lusofonias: Obras de arte da colecção da Perve Galeria//Lisboa*. Lisboa: Perve Galeria, 2009.

[564] Enciclopedia Itaú Cultural op.cit.

[565] C.C. Nunes, 2009, op.cit.

group shows in Brazil (2001)[566] and Angola (2006). From a decolonial perspective, the inevitable question concerns the extent to which this postcolonial emphasis resurrects the earlier imperial efforts to define a global Portuguese culture. Dias presents a contrary perspective, arguing that curating lusophone themes enables a critical engagement and reconfiguration of power relations, for instance through the decentralisation of that identity.[567] This argument appears to concur with Malangatana's vocal embrace of the Portuguese language as his own.

In contrast to exhibitions that promoted a transnational, lusophonic identity, there was a counter impulse that stressed the local. This can be seen in the titles of three exhibits in Portugal where questions of identity foregrounded the artist's home village and district. The use of localised sources in these three exhibitions implies that Malangatana no longer needed to be introduced to Portuguese audiences in general terms as a Mozambican. Furthermore, these titles demonstrate his increasing determination to promote his home territory, and to define himself in relation to it. The first of these was *Quinzena Matalana* [Matalana Fortnight], a four-person show at ISPA, Lisbon in 1996.[568] The other two were solo exhibits. Consider the full circle implications of

---

[566] *Encontro dos Tambores* [Meeting of the Drums], in Amapá, Matapá. *Art Africa* op.cit. Another group exhibition in Brazil (1998) is listed by Aresta op.cit. A video interview where the artist speaks on the connections between Mozambique and Brazil can be accessed on the *Lusofalante* blog, http://programalusofalante.blogspot.co.za/2013/10/programa-2-entrevista-com-malangatana.html

[567] I.C. Dias op.cit. Pp.7-10.

[568] The other artists were Oblino, Magaia and Shikhani. *Art Africa* op.cit.

the subtitle of his 1999 exhibition at the Camões Institute in Lisbon - *De Matalana a Matalana* [From Matalana to Matalana], which was curated by Navarro.[569] Ultimately, the title says, the artist's identity is inextricably bound to his home village. Then there was *Incomati e Tejo Bailando* [Incomati and Tejo Dancing] in Barreiro, 2001. While it is possible that the idea of a Mozambican and a Portuguese river dancing together was arrived at lightly, the poetic title articulates profound convergences that speaks to the two nations' shared past and future. The choice of rivers associated with Mozambique and Portugal alludes implicitly to histories of domination by neighbouring countries – the Nkomati originates in South Africa, and the Tejo [Tagus] in Spain. Both rivers flow into major oceans – the Nkomati river enters the Indian Ocean at Marracuene, the artist's home district; the Tejo flows into the Atlantic in Lisbon, site of the exhibition (Barreiro sits on the opposite end of the Bay). Ultimately, their destinies merge seamlessly in the global sea. There is thus a union implied, a synthesis of distinct trajectories that speaks to a common identity, with an organic element (the river) signifying the natural quality of this oneness.

While globalisation features as a poetic theme in the dialogue between transnational and local, it is the economic dimensions of globalisation that have unmasked the utopian claims of a new world. Contrary to the dystopian thread that pervades much of Malangatana's art, we do not find a critique of globalisation, nor of unbridled capitalism. What we do find is an increasingly close alliance with multinational business interests. The

[569] F. de Mira et al. Op.cit.

influence of parastatals (such as TDM and banks such as BCI) on the artist's Mozambican career was noted earlier. BCI is a Mozambican subsidiary of Portugal's Caixa Geral Depositos (CGD), a state-owned bank, which has also played its part in creating an enabling environment for Malangatana's career. CGD has a cultural centre, Culturgest. According to Inês Dias: "Between 1992-2004, under the art direction of António Pinto Ribeiro, Culturgest was the only art institution in Portugal with a programme on non-western contemporary art. Culturgest is also the only institution with a collection of Lusophone contemporary African art."[570] The link between global capitalism and the promotion of a transnational lusophone identity manifests in art playing an important role in establishing the bank's identity. During this period Malangatana featured in two exhibitions curated from CGD's permanent collection. The first, in 2004, focused on artists associated with lusophone Africa;[571] the second, in 2009, surveyed the collection as a whole. The latter exhibition was shown in three cities.[572] In addition, CGD provided the venue for a survey of recent

[570] I.C. Dias op.cit. P.15.

[571] *Mais a Sul: Obras de artistas de Africa na colecção da Caixa Geral de Depositos*. According to Sopa this was at CGD's premises in Lisbon. Sopa, 2006, op.cit. These premises are known as Culturgest. The exhibition is discussed by Pomar, with the venue identified as Culturgest, Porto. Pomar's date precedes Sopa's by two months, suggesting that the exhibition opened in Porto and travelled to Lisbon. Online: https://alexandrepomar.typepad.com/alexandre_pomar/2008/10/mais-a-sul.html#more

[572] *De Malangatana a Pedro Cabrita Reis - Colecção Caixa Geral de Depósitos* was exhibited at the Centro Cultural e Congresso, Caldas da Rainha; Mosteiro Martinho de Tibães, Tibães; and Centro das Artes de Sines, Sines. M.M.F. Frazão, *Questões de Conservação em Arte Contemporânea na Coleçao de Caixa Geral de Depósitos: Estudos de caso*. Universidade de Coimbra: Masters dissertation, 2015, pp.69-70.

Mozambican art in 2007, which was initiated by the Mozambican Embassy in Portugal, as part of a Mozambican 'week' that featured activities in eight cities. CGD also co-sponsored the catalogue for this exhibition, along with a fellow Portuguese bank, Millennium BCP.[573] If one looks all the way back to colonial Mozambique in 1964 when Malangatana was commissioned to paint a mural for Banco Nacional Ultramarino (today Banco de Moçambique),[574] it becomes clear that the banking sector featured intermittently as a significant source of support for his career.

Other group exhibits in Portugal during this period point in various directions, and some listed events provide insufficient detail to be brought into this analysis.[575] Notable exhibits include a second surrealist exhibition in Portugal.[576] Portugal has a strong surrealist element running through its modern art history, and one can surmise that the Lisbon exhibit was implicitly a vehicle for assimilating Malangatana within that history, with

---

[573] Costa et al. Op.cit. See also *Programa Semana de Mocambique em Portugal – 11 a 29 de Junho de 2007* [brochure].

[574] M. Adam, "Banco de Moçambique Painel de 1964", in G.G. Pereira, F. Meigos, M. Adam, *et al. Malangatana: Panéis e murais*. Maputo, 2012 P.6.

[575] Two entries by *Art Africa* do not give much detail: one at Galeria Santiago, Palmela, 2003; the other simply identified as being in Lisbon, 1995. *Art Africa* op.cit. In addition, group shows in Portugal in 1997 and 1998 are listed by Aresta op.cit. Pp.39-40.

[576] *Primeira Exposição do Surrealismo ou N*ão [First Exhibition of Surrealism or Not]. Lisboa: Galeria São Mamede, 1994. Exhibition catalogue referenced by Rodrigues, op.cit. P.124.

his inclusion simultaneously serving to internationalise a Portuguese movement.[577].

The politics of postcolonial relations, however, seldom elude the frame. Earlier, in discussing the political uses of Mozambican exhibitions in Europe, specifically in London, 1981, the prospect was raised of Mozambican art being exhibited as part of anti-racist campaigns in Europe.[578] This social and political agenda appears to have been operative in a 1996 exhibition in Portugal whose title suggests the intent to improve relations between residents of Sines and African immigrants.[579]

3.4.2.2 Mediating the national and the regional in the context of the new global, 1990-2007

Malangatana's representation in showcases of Mozambican art designed for international audiences continued to feature during globalisation, although with less persistence than after independence. We have seen that, exluding the travelling exhibition with Idasse, he participated in four Mozambican group exhibits in Portugal (1997, 1998, 1999, 2007), and one in Spain

---

[577] Late in his career Malangatana acknowledged having being impressed by some of the Portuguese surrealists (Cruzeiro Seixas and Cesariny) on his first visit to Portugal in 1971. Vieira op.cit. P.41.

[578] See 3.3.2.3

[579] This catalogue (José Mouro (ed), *Africa em Sines: (con)viver melhor na diferenca: exposição colectiva de pintura Africana*, Centro Cultural Emmerico Nunes, Sines) is listed on *WorldCat*, with one copy held by the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon, http://www.worldcat.org/title/africa-em-sines-conviver-melhor-na-diferenca-exposicao-colectiva-de-pintura-africana/oclc/959147341

(1992).[580] Significantly, two of these – *Expo '92* (Seville) and *Expo '98* (Lisbon) were not stand-alone events. Instead, they were conceived of as national pavilions within much larger international expositions. Such events - essentially trade fairs where culture acts to brand national identity and attract tourism - have a long history. With globalisation they took on a greater frequency. In the art world this has manifested in the growth of international large-scale city-based biennials, as well as commercially oriented art fairs.[581]

[580] The title of the exhibition *9 Artistas de Moçambique* maintains the overriding sense of national identity. But by numerically quantifying the participating artists it begins to draw attention to them as individuals. This theme becomes explicit in the catalogue, where the individual artists are profiled.

[581] J.C. Davidson, "The Global Art Fair and the Dialectical Image". London: *Third Text* 107 (v.24 n.8), 2010, p.719.

Postcards produced for Expo'98, each featuring a detail from Malangatana's large panel/mural created for the event.
Source: Warren M. Robbins Library, National Museum of African Art.

In short, the earlier pattern of exhibitions promoting solidarity with the people of Mozambique was eclipsed by new forms of exhibition with less overtly political objectives. Despite this general shift, the solidarity trope has proved resilient and resurfaced intermittently. An exhibition of Mozambican art collected by ANC cadre and human rights activist Albie Sachs is one such example. Sachs had lived a significant part of his life as an exile in Mozambique and had become an enthusiastic supporter of Mozambican art. On his return to South

Africa he donated his collection of Mozambican artworks to the University of the Western Cape. These works were exhibited at the ArtB Gallery, Belville, in 1994, with Malangatana opening the exhibition and painting a mural at UWC.[582]

If the national exhibition occasionally foregrounded individual artists, the distilled form of this curatorial trope manifests in the two-person exhibition. This strategy was evident earlier in the pairings with Chissano in India and Turkey in the 1980s. It is made explicit in the title *Sentir Moçambique* [Feel Mozambique] that was used for a travelling exhibition with fellow Mozambican artist Idasse Tembe in Portugal in 1991. The implication that the essence of Mozambique was embodied in the work of these two artists and that this could be 'felt' is revealing in its correspondence with European (and negritudinist) perceptions of Africans as emotive and intuitive, with the two artists' enigmatic, dream-like iconography a good match for an art public familiar with Surrealism. This observation points to philosophical and aesthetic points of interest that extend beyond those of politically-driven cultural diplomacy. Similarly, one can note the pairing of Malangatana with fellow Mozambican painter Estevão Mucavele, known for his enchanted landscapes, in Iceland, 1998.[583]

While the national show has proved to be a resilient format, it can be observed that Mozambican group shows

---

[582] J. Pearce, "The Still Life in Wartime". Johannesburg: *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, 3 February 1994.

[583] Aresta op.cit. P.40. Like Malangatana, Mucavel is a largely self-taught painter, but his works contrast in being small, strongly patterned, unpopulated landscapes.

increasingly came to be situated within broader international platforms. Earlier, reference was made to the long history of world fairs and trade expos and the growth of economically driven city-based biennial and art fair formats. For Malangatana, participation in such fora during globalisation was preceded by *Art from the Frontline*, an exhibition that toured the UK in 1990, beginnining at the Glasgow Art Gallery.[584] This exhibition was in certain respects a bridge from the earlier emphasis on solidarity to that of the curated survey of contemporary Africa that would become increasingly important for Malangatana. From its title, we can deduce that this exhibition was planned during the late stages of the Cold War, when the very notion of the Frontline States was developed as a form of solidarity against the aggressive actions of the apartheid regime.[585] It is clear that *Art from the Frontline* was conceived and displayed as an art exhibition. But it is equally clear that its purpose was to use art to create public awareness of the destabilisation of Southern Africa by the minority white government in South Africa. It did not perform this function didactically by narrating destabilisation through art; rather by promoting the very concept of the frontline states as a united alliance of independent African states at war with the Pretoria regime. Consistently with this objective, artists were selected

[584] E. Wallace (ed), *Art from the Frontline: Contemporary art from Southern Africa frontline states*. London: Karia Press, 1990. The exhibition was also shown in Manchester, Dublin, and London. C. Riley, "Festival Guide: Art from the frontline – Southern Africa is more than politics". London: *The Guardian*, 28 April 1990, p.44.

[585] There was a three-year gestation period for this exhibition, which was initially intended to be an anthology of literature from the frontline states. Riley, op.cit.

and presented as representatives of their respective nation-states. Malangatana penned an essay on Mozambican art for the catalogue, [586] an act that underlined his role as both practitioner and voice for Mozambican art. Indeed, at this time, he also contributed an essay on Mozambican art for *Art/Images in Southern Africa*, a Swedish organised exhibition for which he played an advisory role, but did not include his own work.[587]

Ten years after the *Frontline* exhibition, the idea of a united bloc of independent Southern African states - this time post-apartheid - underpinned the SADC arts and crafts festival in Namibia (2000). Here we witness a convergence of political and trade interests, with arts (and crafts) being used in furtherance of developing relations between SADC countries. A catalogue produced by the National Gallery of Namibia has separate sections for each country.[588] A second catalogue produced by the Mozambican commissioners resurrected the *Artistas de Moçambique* theme that had been synonymous with post-independence group shows abroad (as well as a unifying theme for many local exhibits).[589] In addition, the

---

[586] M.V. Ngwenya, "Mozambican Art: An overview", in Wallace, op. cit. Pp.47-49; and M. Ngwenya, "Four Artists from Mozambique", in Björk et al. Op. cit. Pp.31-35.

[587] M. Ngwenya, "Four Artists from Mozambique: Isabel Martins, Victor Sousa, Nurdino Ubisse, Fernando Rosa", in C. Bjork, K. Danielsson, and B. Serenander(eds). *Art/images in Southern Africa*. Stockholm: Kulturhuset, 1989, pp.31-35. According to the catalogue, the exhibition toured Sweden and the Nordic countries.

[588] National Art Gallery of Namibia, *SADC Arts and Craft Festival 2000*. Windhoek: NAGN & The Ministry of Basic Education, Sport & Culture, 2000.

[589] F. Rafael, H. Harun, A. Cabral, et al. *Artistas de Moçambique*. Maputo, 2000.

curatorial regime echoed that of official exhibitions from the revolutionary period when committees curated for exhibitions that were conceived to augment political gatherings.

Between *Art from the Frontline* and the *SADC Arts and Crafts Festival* there was *Africus*, the first Johannesburg biennial (1995).[590] *Africus* adopted the traditional biennial format of national exhibitions, with selections made by commissioners appointed by each country. Mozambican curator Gilberto Cossa headed the Mozambican team, which included Malangatana in an advisory role. Apart from exhibiting sculpture, Malangatana undertook to coordinate the painting of a 90 metre mural in Johannesburg for the biennial.[591]

Despite differences, these three exhibitions – *Frontline*, *Africus*, and the *SADC Festival* - are all instructive in revealing the balancing act between promoting national identity and participating in broader regional/continental initiatives. All were essentially political events – none were directly concerned in contributing discursively to the development of a contemporary African art although the selection of name for *Africus*, intentionally or not, underlined the increasing challenges of developing an African art practice in a global environment shaped by Western perspectives and interests. This would come to be a

---

[590] A. Bowyer and C. Breitz (eds), *Africus: Johannesburg biennale '95*. Johannesburg: Transitional Metropolitan Council, 1995.

[591] Logistical problems on the part of the organisers led to Malangatana spending less than three days on the mural. J. Ozynski, "A Feast of World Art". Johannesburg: *The New Nation*, 9 February 1995.

central theme in transnational curated exhibitions from this period.

A very different response to SADC cultural identity came with *Transitions*, at the Africa Centre in London, 2005.[592] Like the Albie Sachs exhibition, *Transitions* was curated from a private collection, in this case that of Robert Loder of the Triangle Art Trust. Loder played a major part in promoting artist-led workshops across the globe through his leadership of this Trust.[593] This included the short-lived *Ujamaa* workshop in Mozambique, which Malangatana attended.[594] Unlike Sachs, Loder was not explicitly concerned with politics, and indeed the strong emphasis on non-representational art associated with Triangle belied a skepticism towards didactic art.[595] The exhibition, curated by noted African art historian John Picton and Zimbabwean curator Barbara Murray, dispensed with national boundaries in favour of a transnational mix of artists of artists from the SADC region.

While all of the group shows from this period take national, regional or contintental identity as the starting point, there were two very different examples

---

[592] B. Murray and J. Picton (eds), *Transitions: Botswana, Namibia, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, 1960-2004*. London: Africa Centre, 2005.
[593] M. Albert, A. Antoniolli, L. Fray, and R. Loder (eds), *Triangle: Variety of experience around artists' workshops and residencies*. London: Triangle Arts Trust, 2007.
[594] Albert et al. Op.cit. Pp.128-129.
[595] In the mid to late 1980s, Triangle's South African chapter, Thupelo, was subjected to a leftist critique that its emphasis on non-figurative art was an extension of the CIA's promotion of abstract art as a means of soft propaganda during the Cold War. See J. Peffer, *Art and the End of Apartheid*. Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press, 2009, pp.153-167.

where original approaches were followed. The first of these was *Container '96* in Copenhagen, in the year the Danish city was the European capital of culture. For this exhibition artists from port cities across the world created exhibitions in packing containers. In this instance Malangatana was not representing Mozambique, but rather Maputo.[596] Another approach to internationalism took the form of an ambitious exhibition in Milan, 2001, designed to challenge normative notions of contemporary art, where Africa was one of five "geographic areas" in the global south.[597]

While the locus of identity shifts between the local (Matalana, Maputo), the nation-state, and the trans-national (Frontline states, southern Africa, SADC, Africa, global south, lusophone), these spatial shifts are usually claimed as part of the curatorial scope of exhibitions. Even *Africus*, with its open, international scope reminded one of place. It is surprising to see how few spatially unbounded constructions of the international come into the frame. The Surrealist exhibition in Lisbon suggests a willingness to assimilate Africa into an international frame, albeit one conceived within a western art historical context; and one can note two other international exhibitions that were held in Finland. Reference here is to *Worlds: Maailmat 90* at the

---

[596] The Maputo container included works by Malangatana, Titos Mabote, and Reinata Sadimba. It was curated by Marilyn Martin of the South African National Gallery. Martin met Malangatana when he was invited to Cape Town by the University of the Western Cape. M. Martin, "Maputo, Copehangen and Tenerife… Curating for Africa", *Bonani*. Cape Town: South African National Gallery, First Quarter 1996.

[597] H.G. Gadamer et al. *Il Sud del Mondo: L'altra arte contemporanea*. Milan: Mazzotta, 1991.

Joensuu Art Museum, 1990;[598] and *Meeting with Silence* at the University of Tuku, 2000.[599] However, while these examples suggest that the old politics had given way to a more open-ended, ostensibly neutral concern with aesthetics, they introduce new political questions of inclusivity and exclusivity of the 'international'. Malangatana appears to have been the only African artist featured in *Worlds*.[600] Furthermore, the Finnish events foreground the difficulty in assigning categoric agendas to exhibitions. Solidarity may indeed have still been an element in these exhibitions, not least if one takes into account the existence of a Finnish-Mozambican cultural association, that appears to have played some role in organising at least some of Malangatana's Finnish exhibits.[601]

The examples discussed in this section demonstrate degrees of convergence and divergence from earlier patterns concerning the positioning of the nation within the international. They demonstrate both complementary

---

[598] A catalogue (M. Jaukhuri, et al. *Worlds: Joensuu Art Museum, Finland = Maailmat 90*. Joensuu: Joensuun Taidemuseo, 1990)is listed on *WorldCat*, with one copy held by the South Australian Museum Library, http://www.worldcat.org/title/worlds-joensuu-art-museum-finland-maailmat-90-joensuun-taidemuseo/oclc/057963421 . Maaretta Jaukhuri, curator of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Helsinki, may have first met Malangatana through the *Container '96* project. Martin op.cit.

[599] This is listed as *Encontro com o Silêncio* – workshop. *Art Africa* op.cit.

[600] The *WorldCat* entry referred to above lists the participating artists.

[601] For the Suomi Mosambik Seura website, see http://www.mosambikseura.fi/ *Art Africa* lists group shows in Finland in 1995 and 1997, but provides no further details. *Art Africa* op.cit. These are presumably the same group exhibits in Finland in 1996 and 1997 listed by Aresta op.cit. P.39.

and competing curatorial regimes that intersect with the evolving social and political environment. Despite their interest for an analysis of Malangatana's exhibition output, arguably their significance is eclipsed by the contemporary processes of affirmation of Malangatana's historical position as a pioneering African modernist.

3.4.2.3 Canonical affirmations: the coming of age of the discourse in contemporary African art, 1991-2009

The single most important observation concerning Malangatana's representation in international group shows from 1990 onwards is that it was during this period that his position as a canonical African modernist was affirmed by a new generation of cultural brokers. For it was in the 1990s that we saw the coming of age of the discourses in modern and contemporary African art that had emerged with Beier's generation in the 1960s. This manifested in an unprecedented number of group shows that were, with few exceptions, curated for western audiences well versed in mainstream (Eurocentric) art history. For Malangatana, this meant a shift in emphasis from being presented as an 'artist of Mozambique' towards being an 'African artist'. This shift does not mean the erasure of politics, but rather the emergence of another kind of politics, a politics of representation where practices of conceptual framing as African and/or 'other' introduce critical questions of exclusion from the canon of art history, an exclusion that is often tied to perceptions of racism and paternalism.

If *Art from the Frontline* represents a bridge between solidarity and survey exhibitions, the bridge to the new

curatorial order was crossed with *Africa Explores*, an ambitious exhibition organised by the Centre for African Art in New York.[602] As a large-scale touring exhibition of contemporary African art, *Africa Explores* was unprecedented, its itinerary unrivalled to this day. Running from 1991-1994, the exhibition was shown at no less than eight galleries in the USA, as well as in art centres and galleries in Germany, France, Spain and England.[603] *Africa Explores* was not a survey exhibition in the sense that it did not organise artists by country, region or media. What it did propose to do was to highlight key themes in contemporary practice. While its intellectual content came in for much criticism,[604] *Africa Explores* was important for Malangatana in that it was the first of a new generation of well-resourced exhibitions of contemporary African art that would travel to art galleries in the USA and Europe that had never shown his work, effectively affirming his historical role as a pioneer of modern African art.

The positioning of Malangatana as a historical pioneer recurred in Okwui Enwezor's *The Short Century*, which

[602] Now known as the Museum for African Art.

[603] The catalogue lists the following venues: The Centre for African Art, New York; New Museum of Contemporary Art, New York; University Art Museum, Berkeley; Dallas Museum of Art, Dallas; Saint Louis Art Museum, Saint Louis; Mint Museum of Art, Charlotte; The Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh; The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.; Center for Fine Arts, Miami; Ludwig Forum fur Internationale Kunst, Aachen; Fundacio António Tapies, Barcelona; Espace Lyonnais d'Art Contemporain, Lyon; Tate Gallery, Liverpool. Vogel and Ebong, op.cit.

[604] Picton op.cit.

toured art museums in the USA and Germany (2000-2001).[605] Enwezor, together with Olu Oguibe, subsequently selected early works by Malangatana for *Century City* (2001) at Tate Modern.[606] For *Century City* Malangatana played an important supporting role in the Nigerian-born curators' efforts to present 1960s Lagos as a cosmopolitan centre. This was made possible by the prominent exposure he had received through the Mbari movement in the early 1960s, with Oguibe and Enwezor 'Nigerianising' Mbari as part of pan-African Lagos culture.

Malangatana was also selected by curator Simon Njjami, seen at that time as the francophone counterpoint to Enwezor and Oguibe, for *Tiempo de Africa*, [Africa's Time]. This exhibition was at the Centro Atlantico de Arte Moderno, Las Palmas, in 2000,[607] and later in Madrid.[608] Njami went further than Enwezor and Oguibe, at least from Malangatana's perspective, by not only including iconic works from the early 1960s, but also paintings from the 1980s and 1990s. This Njami did in order to demonstrate what he considered to be a historical shift from 'culture as a weapon' towards a greater concern for the aesthetic.[609]

---

[605] *The Short Century* was shown at Museum Villa Stuck, Munich; Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin; PS1 and MoMA, New York; and the Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago. Enwezor op.cit.

[606] Blazwick op.cit.

[607] S. Njami, *Tiempo de Africa*. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Centro Atlantico de Arte Moderna, 2000.

[608] The Madrid venue is identified as the Ministry of Culture ("Consejeria de Cultura") by Sopa, 2006, op.cit.

[609] Personal communication, Dakar, May, 2012.

During this period there were some lesser known exhibitions that aimed to further awareness of contemporary African art. Malangatana featured in *Africa Now: Contemporary Art from Africa*, a travelling exhibition that toured Denmark, Norway, and Finland between 2008 and 2009.[610] *Africa Now* was preceded by an exhibition curated from the collection of the Association pour la Defense et l'Illustration des Arts d'Afrique et d'Oceanie. (ADEIAO), held in Paris in 2005.[611] ADEIAO was formed in 1984 by persons associated with the Musee des Arts d'Afrique et d'Oceanie. The Association set out to collect works by contemporary artists from Africa and Oceania, in response to the general emphasis on traditional art in official museums.[612] The African component of the ADEIAO collection was subsequently donated to the National Museum of Mali, Bamako, an event marked by an exhibition there in 2008.[613]

The ADEIAO exhibition, with its origins in a collection assembled in Europe and its dissolution by way of donation (of its African holdings) attempted to address one of the key critiques of the discursive field of

---

[610] Venues listed as Rundetaarn, Copenhagen; Baunhoj Molle and Kulturhuset Pavillonen, Grenaa, Denmark; Kunstkvarteret Lofoten and Bodo, Norway; and Tampere Art Museum, Finland. T. Thorup, E. Jengo, M-K Tuominen, et al. *Africa/Now: Contemporary Art from Africa 2008-2009*. Copenhagen: thorupART, 2008.

[611] The title and venue for the exhibition is given as *Clin d'Oeil sur la Collection de l'ADEIAO*, CEA-EHESS, Paris. Gaia SAS, op.cit.

[612] ADEIAO published a general catalogue of their collection. *Art Contemporain d'Afrique et d'Oceanie*. Paris: ADEIAO, 1995.

[613] A. Traoré, "Mali: Exposition d'Art au Musée National du Mali Bamako, capitale africaine d'Art contemporain". Online : *Maliactu.net*, 28 April 2015. https://maliactu.net/mali-exposition-dart-au-musee-national-du-mali-bamako-capitale-africaine-dart-contemporain/

contemporary African art: namely, that it is largely curated for western audiences and is not accessible to many on the African continent.[614] Against this background, the establishment of a major collection of contemporary art based in Luanda attracted much interest. The collection, mostly but not exclusively African in content, was assembled by Angolan businessman Sindika Dokolo. Rather than being a project of a lusophone nature, or a renewal of residual socialist solidarity, the emphasis was on leveraging the private collection of a wealthy, politically connected businessman in order to position Luanda internationally.[615] Practically this meant linking the collection to the establishment of the Luanda *Trienal* in 2006, curated by Fernando Alvim. This in turn was envisaged as a means towards exhibiting the collection at a specially assigned African Pavilion at the Venice *Biennale,* curated by Alvim and Njami in 2007.[616] Malangatana was included in the inaugural edition of the Luanda Trienal,[617] but was ommmitted from the selection for the Venice Biennale.

---

[614] S.O. Ogbechie, "The Curator as Culture Broker: A critique of the curatorial regime of Okwui Enwezor in the discourse of contemporary African art". ASAI, 2010. Online: http://asai.co.za/the-curator-as-culture-broker-a-critique-of-the-curatorial-regime-of-okwui-enwezor-in-the-discourse-of-contemporary-african-art/

[615] See K.E. Cowcher, "Luanda Onde Está? Contemporary African art and the rentier state". *Critical Interventions* v.8 n.2, 2014, pp. 140-159.

[616] For the linkages between the Luanda Trienal and the Venice Biennale, as well as controversies surrounding Dokolo's collection, see Cowcher op.cit. pp.152-154; and N. Siegert, "Luanda Lab: Nostalgia and utopia in aesthetic practice". *Critical Interventions*: vol.8 no.2, pp. 183-185.

[617] The venue is identified as Soso Lax by *Art Africa* op.cit. However, it appears that this was the name of the company staging the triennial event, and that Malangatana was probably exhibited in Soso

While Malangatana was excluded from the world's oldest and most established biennial, he did receive recognition for his historical stature at *Dak'Art*, arguably Africa's most important biennial exhibition. Selected for the 2006 edition by a curatorial collective headed by Ivorian Yacouba Konate, indications are that it was Zimbabwean curator Barbara Murray who was instrumental in ensuring what would be the only international solo exhibition of Malangatana during globalisation that took place outside the luso/latin axis.[618] With Dak'Art increasingly becoming a platform for younger artists, in many respects this modest exhibition mirrored the role Malangatana was playing in Mozambican biennials as a senior figure.

Malangatana's historical importance was also cause for his inclusion in *Take Your Road and Travel Along*, the Michael Stevenson Gallery's overview of pan-African modernism that was exhibited at the Johannesburg Art Fair

---

Correios, a renovated post office space. There appear to have been two consecutive exhibitions in this venue as part of the Trienal, the second being in 2007, and it is unclear which exhibition featured Malangatana. For an account of the opening exhibition see R. Sacks, "Introspection and Education: An update on Luanda". Artthrob, 6 July 2006. online: https://artthrob.co.za/06july/news/luanda.html . For the following exhibit, titled either *Cosmos Africa Forever* or *Cosmo Dipanda Forever*, see F. Pedro, "Trienal de Luanda: África Forever". Pravda, 25 January 2017. Online: http://port.pravda.ru/sociedade/cultura/25-01-2007/15190-trienalluanda-0/# and Anon., "Exposição Cosmo Dipanda Forever é inaugurada hoje no espaço Soso Correios". Agencia Angola Press Angop, 5 January 2007. Online: http://www.angop.ao/angola/pt_pt/noticias/lazer-e-cultura/2007/0/1/Exposicao-Cosmo-Dipanda-Forever-inaugurada-hoje-espaco-Soso-Correios,26e94912-ae54-4613-af43-bdee2b9693fb.html

[618] O. Wade (ed), *Dak'Art 2006: 7th biennial of contemporary African Art*. Dakar: Dak'Art, 2006.

in 2008.[619] The selection of artists for this exhibition drew on the earlier work of Beier, with the addition of pioneering South African black modernists. In revising a largely well-known narrative, exhibitions such as *Take Your Road and Travel Along* have contributed to the process of confirming regular inclusions, such as Malangatana, as canonical figures.

As mentioned earlier, Malangatana's participation in the *Artists of the World Against Apartheid* exhibition had culminated with the collection going 'home' to post-apartheid South Africa.[620] In 2009 Gavin Jantjes, one of the few Africans to have been invited to contribute to that historic exhibition, selected Malangatana's work from this collection for *Strengths & Convictions: The life and times of the South African Nobel Peace Prize Laureates*.[621] Commissioned by the Nobel Peace Centre, *Strengths and Convictions* debuted at the Iziko South African National Gallery, Cape Town, before travelling to the Nobel Peace Centre, Oslo.

The examples discussed in this section diverge in many respects, with some leaning to the historical and others to the contemporary; but all share in affirming and reiterating Malangatana's position as a prominent African modernist. Indeed, one would be hard pressed to identify any other African artist who first made their mark in the

---

[619] M. Stevenson and J. Bosland, '*Take your road and travel along': The advent of the modern black painter in Africa.* Cape Town: Michael Stevenson, Michael Graham-Stewart and Johans Borman, 2008.

[620] See 3.3.2.1

[621] G. Jantjes (ed), *Strengths & Convictions: The life and times of the South African Nobel Peace Prize laureates*. Oslo: Press Publishing, 2009.

early 1960s receiving as much traction over as many years, and in as many divergent contexts.

This matter of acknowledgment of Malangatana's historical importance in helping shape the emerging field for modern/ contemporary African art can also be seen in important exhibitions of contemporary African art that excluded Malangatana because of their curatorial premise. *Seven Stories About Modern Art in Africa* was curated as part of the *Africa'95* programme organised by the Royal Academy of London. *Seven Stories* came about as a critique that contemporary African art practice was being excluded from the idea of 'African art'. The curatorial premise of *Seven Stories* was that of national case studies (with the anomaly of Kenya and Uganda being combined). With *Africas: The artist and the city*, Spanish curator Pep Subirós constructed a narrative informed by specific urban centres. Despite the exclusion of Mozambique and Maputo from these two exhibitions, the catalogues for both events found understated ways to insert references to Malangatana.[622] This underlines a general consensus concerning his historical impact, although the point should be underlined that no prominent art institution in the USA or in the leading art centres of Europe has mounted a major exhibition of Malangatana. This caveat concerning his international recognition needs to be understood as representative of the still marginal status of modern/contemporary African art within the normative frame of international art history.

[622] Court, op.cit. P.209; and P. Subirós, S. Njami, K. Mercer, et al. Africas: The artist and the city: a journey and an exhibition. Barcelona: Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona, 2001.

3.5 Life after death (2011-2018)

This chapter has addressed Malangatana's expansive exhibition output. Like the following chapter, it is concerned with analysing the artist's cultural capital. The point that the artist achieved both canonical and iconic status during his lifetime is of particular interest. Accordingly, less attention is paid to posthumous developments, which are critical for processes of reiteration and affirmation of relevance. However, it appears remiss to not briefly acknowledge posthumous exhibitions, particularly in ways that they sustain or disrupt themes addressed in the analysis above.

The first important observation to make of Malangatana's posthumous exhibitions is that several of them demonstrate the ongoing investment of Portuguese agencies in sustaining his legacy. In 2011, the year of the artist's death, there were two exhibitions held at EPM-CELP in Maputo. The first showcased etchings and silkscreens produced in Portugal.[623] The second exhibited documentary photographs of Malangatana's public commission in Barreiro.[624] In Portugal, Filomena André and the Mário Soares Foundation, together with the Municipality of Odivelas organised a posthumous tribute, titled *Sonhar Malangatana* [Dream Malangatana].[625] Also in

[623] G.G. Pereira and J.F. Feliciano, *Malangatana: Serigrafia e gravura no Centro* Português *de Serigrafia.* Maputo: EPM-CELP, 2011.
[624] F. André (ed), *Exposição Fotografica: Making of elemento escultorico Paz e Amizade de Malangatana, Bareiro-Portugal 2009.* Maputo: Escola Portuguêsa e Consulado Geral de Portugal, 2011.
[625] The exhibition catalogue (A. Pelica and A.C. Oliveira, *Sonhar Malangatana*. Lisboa: Torres Vedras, 2011) is listed by *Bibliografia Nacional Portuguesa* op.cit. The Mário Soares Foundation is also involved in the digitisation of Malangatana's art and photographic

2011, Malangatana was paid special tribute at the *III Bienal de Culturas Lusofonas*, in Odivelas, Portugal.[626] The following year ISPA presented an exhibition of early works by Malangatana (1959-1968);[627] and he featured in an updated incarnation of the Perve Galeria's *Lusophonies/Lusofonias* travelling exhibition, shown at the Centro Cultural Palacio do Egipto, in Oeiras, a suburb of Lisbon.[628] All these examples highlight the ongoing currency of the artist in cultivating and promoting a postcolonial Portuguese identity. Malangatana came to embody a reconciliation that was necessary to normalise relations between the former coloniser and colonised. Portuguese investment in exhibiting Malangatana in Mozambique and in Portugal enables spaces to nurture a reciprocal partnership between the former coloniser and colonised.[629]

The other country to exhibit Malangatana posthumously was Finland. Malangatana was paired with ceramic sculptor

---

archives, and the construction of an online archive. See http://casacomum.org/cc/arquivos?set=e_915

[626] It is not clear if his work was exhibited as part of the event. Anon. "[III] Bienal de Culturas Lusofonas Homenageia Lauro Moreira e Malangatana", Cidadania da CPLP, 2 May 2011. Online: https://cidadanialusofona.wordpress.com/2011/05/02/odivelas-%e2%80%93-3-%c2%aa-bienal-de-culturas-lusofonas-homenageia-lauro-moreira-e-malangatana/

[627] L. Soares de Oliveira, "Redescobrir o Grande Pintor Moçambicano Malangatana". Portugal: *Publico*, 8 October 2012. Online: https://www.srslegal.pt/xms/files/NOTICIAS_IMPRENSA/08-10-2012__Redescobrir_o_grande_pintor_mocambicano_Malangatana__Publico_PRS.pdf

[628] C.C. Nunes, *Lusophonies/Lusofonias: Obras da colecção da Perve Galeria*. Câmara Municipal de Oeiras, 2012.

[629] The Portuguese view of Malangatana as a benevolent symbol of postcolonial relations was articulated shortly after the artist's death by the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Luís Amado. Anon., "Portugal Vai Preservar Legado de Malangatana". Maputo: *O Pais*, 22 March 2011, p.21.

Reinata as part of a Mozambique Culture Weeks programme.[630] The organisation of this event by the Finnish-Mozambican Friendship Association, founded in 1986, serves to remind one of the important contributions made by civic networks in promoting his career.

Mozambican initiatives to nurture Malangatana's legacy have taken various forms. In 2012 Mozambican artists mounted a tribute exhibition commemorating the 1st anniversary of his death.[631] This exhibition was organised by the Fundação Malangatana Valente Ngwenya, established during the course of the artist's lifetime. The Foundation has used the anniversary of the artist's death to organise several public events. In recent years these have taken a thematic turn. For instance, to mark the artist's 80th birthday there was an exhibition focusing on his images of women,[632] and in 2018 the Foundation published a map to coincide with the launch of a tour of Malangatana's public art works in Maputo. The launch of this tour was augmented with a month long programme of events.[633] This programme included the restoration of Malangatana's mural at the Natural History Museum, undertaken by UEM and the Camões - Centro Cultura

[630] The exhibition was held at the International Culture Centre Caisa. Suomi-Mosambik-Seura Associação Finlândia-Moçambique, Mozambique Culture Weeks 23/9–3/11/2011. Online: www.mosambikseura.fi/?q=node/43

[631] Fundação Malangatana Valente Ngwenya, 'Espirito em Fumo': Homenagem ao mestre Malangatana. Maputo: Fundação Malangatana Valente Ngwenya, 2012 [brochure].

[632] L. Macedo and S. Ngoenha, *A Mulher em Malangatana*. Maputo: Fundação Malangatana Valente Ngwenya, 2017.

[633] Fundação Malangatana Valente Ngwenya, Malangatana: *Mapa das artes Junho 2018* [leaflet]

Portugues em Maputo.[634] One can note that commemorative interventions are increasingly taking on the scale of small festivals, with talks and screenings complementing exhibitions in month long programmes. This indicates an interest in not only commemorating Malangatana but in producing new knowledge on specific aspects of his practice. The Foundation is also ensuring that events of this nature extend to Portugal, as a recent screening and discussion at the Universidade do Minho makes evident.[635]

The Mozambican, Portuguese, and even Finnish exhibitions are all concerned, to some extent, with expressing national identity and cultivating bilateral relations between nation-states. In this respect they constitute posthumous manifestations of a well walked set of intersecting pathways that can be traced throughout the artist's career.

Alongside these exhibitions, one can observe significant strides made in the transnational discourses of modern and contemporary African art. In recent years there have been gains in increasing representation of African artists in historically eurocentric art museums and art historical discourses. In 2014 Tate Modern purchased an untitled painting by Malangatana, from 1967, which was exhibited in the museum's new extension in 2016. Malangatana had exhibited at Tate Modern earlier (*Century City*, 2001) in the context of an African (largely Nigerian) exhibition but this was the first time

[634] Alda Costa, Malangatana: *Mural 'O Homem e a Natureza', Museu de História Natural.* Maputo: UEM and Camões – Centro Cultural Português em Maputo, 2018 [brochure]

[635] Museu Nogueira da Silva, *No Trilho de Malangatana: Do legado a memoria* [event notification].

Malangatana had been shown alongside canonical modern artworks such as Picasso's *Weeping Woman* within what is generally regarded as one of the major citadels of modern/contemporary art.[636] Parallel to the Tate acquisition and exhibition, Malangatana was featured in *Post-War*, an ambitious undertaking by Munich's Haus der Kunst to reposition the history of modern art as globally inclusive, curated by Okwui Enwezor.[637]

There are two important observations to make here. Firstly, that the artist is gradually being assimilated into a revisionist canon of modern art; and secondly, that in both these examples it has been on the basis of early work. This is a bittersweet observation, since the argument can be made that what is really happening is an insertion of the field of modern/contemporary African art into a purportedly global modernism that has been recently exposed as Western Modernism. In particular this development represents a validation of the work done by Beier in shaping the canon of modern African art. The *Post-War* work, an untitled painting from 1961, even belonged to Beier. It is arguably more a question of embedding Africa into a mainstream modernism than it is about Malangatana. It is surely ironic that, with an international record unparalleled by any other African artist of his generation, both Enwezor and the Tate resorted to work produced before Malangatana travelled beyond the borders of Mozambique. The work the artist produced and exhibited in response to his own experiences

---

[636] Tate, "Malangatana Ngwenya Untitled 1967". England: Tate. Online: https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/ngwenya-untitled-t13985

[637] Haus der Kunst, "Valente Malangatana Ngwenya". Munich: Haus der Kunst. Online: https://postwar.hausderkunst.de/en/artworks-artists/artists/valente-malangatana-ngwenya

of internationalism are either unknown or hold little or less interest for these international curators. And how deep is the engagement of these curators with the work they select? In reading the texts prepared for the exhibition of both these works one finds a flattening of Malangatana's hybrid, ambivalent, and unsettling polemic signs into an easily digestable, generalist explanation of his art as being anti-colonial in content. It is ironic that an artist who was in equal parts motivated by concrete responses to his particular historical situation and global humanist concerns is welcomed into the pantheon on the pretext of his translatability into a reductive narrative that is principally local. The Spanish Civil War may introduce a historical context and referent for a discussion of Picasso's *Weeping Woman*, but no one would dare reduce it to a statement of protest against a particular historical conflict. And yet this is what happens to Malangatana, especially at the Tate. This facile approach to Malangatana's art demonstrates his assimilation as a figure of historical significance into a revisionist canon; it does not provide evidence of a vigorous analysis of his work. The door to the citadels of modern art may be opening for Malangatana, but on what ticket is he being admitted?

3.6 Decolonial observations

This overview demonstrates Malangatana's sustained and prolific exhibition career. It also demonstrates a wide range of exhibition types, curatorial tropes and patterns which occurred in particular periods, and highlights continuities and ruptures.

By noting that Malangatana's career was circumscribed by a range of factors, this statement implies that these factors enabled his career, but also limited it. There were (and still are) many constraints facing artists producing works in countries ranked amongst the poorest in the world, such as the limited resources that are necessary for well produced exhibitions, publications, as well as for the development of a community of educators, curators, scholars, and critics to support the work of artists. Internationally, the dominant art history has been notoriously exclusive, with few 'non-western' artists being featured in the worlds most prominent, best resourced museums. Within Malangatana's lifetime this exclusivity began to lose its authority, with sustained criticism by 'others', but this led in the main to selective assimilation of a select few, as well as the development of parallel discourses defined by geo-political or even racial identity, as has been the case with modern/contemporary African art.

Malangatana's success in developing an international career was indeed circumscribed by broader, dynamic social and historical contexts. These impacted significantly on the artistic, cultural, economic, and political possibilities available to a black Mozambican artist of his generation. But this should not be

understood in passive terms. Malangatana was a creative, energetic actor and cultural agent who initiated and facilitated many opportunities for himself and for Mozambican artists. His ability to reach and speak to many different constituencies throughout a career spanning over 50 years has few parallels in world art history.

What, in the discussion above, can we draw on as being of specifically decolonial importance?

Firstly, the importance of the broader political context, notably the Cold War. The advent of the Cold War in the period following the Second World War goes hand-in-hand with the mainstream currents of political decolonisation for Africa. Consequently, even 'late' decolonisations such as those of lusophone Africa, were profoundly affected by the global political situation. Minter has analysed the role of the West in propping up Portuguese colonialism, effectively delaying the decolonisation of Portugal's African colonies, as a consequence of the West's interests in countering Soviet expansion and influence.[638] Through this analysis of Malangatana's career we can see how pervasive this politics was, extending into the 'soft' terrain of culture. One can only wonder how different the picture would be if interlocutors such as Beier had not received indirect CIA funding. What is also notable is that whilst Beier's legacy has been fairly controversial – he has in particular come in for much criticism for having promoted self-taught or informally taught artists, ostensibly at the expense of formally educated artists, a criticism not

[638] Minter op.cit.

entirely warranted noting his support for el Salahi and Okeke – no one has directly addressed his relationship with the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Okeke-Agulu mentions CIA funding of the CCF in passing,[639] and Levin states that it is commonly accepted that beneficiaries of CCF funds were not aware of the CIA link.[640] But the CCF was an openly anti-communist, intellectual initiative and it must surely rank as supreme naivety for Beier and his peers to have not considered where their funding came from. The point here, however, is not a witch hunt or demonisation of the very dynamic Ulli Beier. Rather, an acknowledgment of how the politics of decolonisation is deeply entangled in that of the Cold War.

With the political decolonisation of Mozambique we can observe a complete regime change in regard to the international opportunities open to Malangatana. With the CIA funding of the Congress for Cultural Freedom exposed in 1966,[641] and with Mozambique's adoption of a socialist ideology, it was largely the Soviet bloc, along with more socialist inclined countries and cities that became

---

[639] Okeke-Agulu, 2015, op.cit.

[640] According to Levin op.cit. Note 7, the CIA funding of projects by Beier and Beinart was "without the recipients' knowledge." According to Okeke-Agulu, when the source of funding was exposed, Beier initially did not believe it, as the funding came with no strings attached. Gloria Emeagwali, Biko Agozino, C. Okeke-Agula, et al, "Cold War and Sponsorship of Anglophone African Literature", *USA Africa Dialogue Series*, online: https://groups.google.com/forum/#!search/okeke$20agulu$20soyinka%7Csort:date/usaafricadialogue/-6CMWvJf8v4/0r1KvQTxZpQJ

[641] The Wikipedia entry for Congress for Cultural Freedom details the series of New York Times articlesthat revealed the CIA's funding of front organisations, including the CCF. Online: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congress_for_Cultural_Freedom#CIA_involvement_revealed,_1966CCF

prominent in Malangatana's international career. This scenario would end abruptly with the end of the Cold War.

The revolutionary Mozambican project to build a New Society and to create a New Man represented Frelimo's intent to give shape and content to a radical decolonisation. These policies directly impacted on Malangatana's career, through his involvement in the organisation of official cultural programmes (including exhibitions and establishing new institutions) as well as broader civic and political duties. These new cultural programmes stressed collectivisation, meaning a break with the practice of solo exhibitions. They also promoted a vision of the arts as popular, which translated in part to an emphasis on crafts and sculpture, with Malangatana introducing craft associated genres into some of the group exhibitions (e.g. functional ceramics, batiks, and tapestries).[642]

The consequences of the Civil War for the artistic component of Frelimo's decolonial project should not be underestimated. Most of the gains made in the fields of education and health were destroyed by Renamo, and much of the country's resources were absorbed by the war (and its consequences for the Mozambican population). In addition, the initial programme to root cultural activities nationally was severely compromised, and this can be seen in that few of Malangatana's Mozambican exhibitions occurred outside of Maputo. This argument, however, does not explain the ongoing centrality of Maputo in Malangatana's Mozambican exhibitions after the

[642] Malangatana's participation in collective exhibitions during this era, more specifically his representation in the catalogues to some of these shows is analysed in Pissarra, 2018, op.cit. P.

war. For that, one can look to the argument I make in the final chapter concerning Malangatana's later work aligning with the interests of the postcolonial elite.

From a decolonial perspective, questions of relations between former colonies and former colonisers are significant. One can identify shifts in Malangatana' relations with Portugal that are concurrent with the three phases discussed in this chapter. In the colonial period many exhibitions in Lourenço Marques operated under the patronage of the colonial administration, and senior colonial officials were present at openings of exhibitions, including solo exhibitions by Malangatana, and even at cultural events in Matalalana that were organised by Malangatana. Malangatana is also known to have had good relations with some of the colonial elite, notably the Governor Baltazar Rebelo de Sousa.[643] With Malangatana's politics manifesting a more openly anti-colonial position in his art, along with his imprisonment by PIDE, one can characterise his relations with the colonial administration as ambivalent. His receipt of a Gulbenkian scholarship in the late colonial period, and positive reception in Portugal also highlight the complexity of his relations with the metropole at this time.

A second phase in relations with Portugal can be seen following independence, with intermittent contact until the end of The Cold War. The third phase, globalisation, represents a turning point in Malangatana's international

[643] Portuguese High Commissioner and Governor General of Mozambique (1968-1970). After the Portuguese revolution De Sousa was exiled to Brazil, where he served as director of Luso-Brazilian Association. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baltasar_Rebelo_de_Sousa

career as a solo artist. The fact that he held an unprecedented number of solo exhibitions, mostly in Portugal, as well as in other lusophone countries, and that Portuguese agencies supported several of his Mozambican exhibitions, testifies to his key role as an 'ambassador' who acted to normalise postcolonial relations with Mozambique. This theme is elaborated in the following chapter, in which the question of Malangatana as a public figure and national symbol is addressed.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ARTIST AS CULTURAL SIGN: THE MULTIVALENCE OF 'MALANGATANA'

4.1 Many 'Malangatanas'

Yussuf Adam, Professor of History at the University of Eduardo Mondlane, once remarked in passing that Malangatana meant different things to different people, and that he would like to convene a panel where each speaker could present their views on "*my* Malangatana".[644] It was an idea that stayed with me. I had long sensed that Malangatana was more than an artist, that he had become a symbol of Mozambican culture, if not of Mozambique itself. With this chapter I attempt to unravel Malangatana as cultural sign, and to make sense of the ways in which his public image has been constructed. I examine the different inflexions of this construction, and provide some critical commentary on the processes underpinning views of him as 'Great'.

My enquiry hinges on four key conceptualisations of Malangatana. I have attempted to identify key points in their articulation, as well as map ways in which these frames developed over time. Each of these articulations of the meaning of 'Malangatana' is structured around two or more premises. Seemingly distinct, each of the frames overlaps with others. Through isolating and exploring key strands within the composite sign ('Malangatana'), it is

[644] Prof Adam hosted a presentation on my study to History and Sociology students at UEM in 2011.

demonstrated that the artist is a multi-dimensional signifier: a multivalent sign heavily invested with cultural capital. Distinguishable entities within the composite sign introduce distinct sets of issues which speak to varying interests and audiences. Collectively, these distinct parts framings constitute a 'consensus' for the affirmation of the prevailing iconic stature of Malangatana.

Each construction of the artist may be characterised in the following terms:

i) *Autodidact* – the idea of the artist as self-taught, and how this positioning corresponds to normative narratives of the broader contemporary African art discourse. Also, the ways in which this framing reflects Mozambican inflexions of this discourse.

ii) *Revolutionary* - how the image of the artist as revolutionary established itself through his biography as well as through readings of the artist's works as political.

iii) *Symbol of Mozambican culture* – how the artist comes to dominate Mozambican plastic arts, and how his association with other art forms, along with perceptions of his deeply rooted position in indigenous culture, converged to consolidate his cultural capital as a national symbol.

iv) *Universal artist* – how interpretations of the artist's work as dealing with universal themes, along with Mozambican perceptions of his global success, validated his standing as an international artist. Also,

how the civic roles performed by the artist, and his authority as an independent voice, affirm his position as a humanist.

To map these constellations of Malangatana I rely largely on a close reading of texts as it is in the literature that divergent constructions of the artist are articulated. The emphasis is on texts published before the death of the artist as these reveal how the artist became a potent cultural sign during his lifetime.

Malangatana at his easel, Matalana, early 1960s.
Source: Carvalho et al. Op.cit.

4.2 The artist as autodidact: normative frames and Mozambican inflexions

Authenticity constitutes a pivotal discourse in modern and contemporary African art. Central to this discourse are notions of the untutored, unspoiled African. The self-taught artist (commonly referred to in the literature as an autodidact) embodies cultural values that are uncorrupted by western education. Conversely, the argumentation devolves on a critique or rejection of western constructions of 'authentic' African identity. In both cases the question of authenticity inevitably reverts to the idea of the pure African, whether this is embraced as a pre-colonial 'truth', or alternately rejected as a colonial construction. At stake is the legitimacy of the African artist's voice, never more so than when this voice is shadowed by an ostensibly benevolent mentor, such as an influential expatriate. This interlocutor tends to be credited with the 'discovery' (or, from a critical perspective, the 'invention') of the 'pure' African artist, whose 'innocence' s/he protects through non-directive modes of intervention, typically through denying or limiting access to formal education.

Core elements of this narrative of the African artist as autodidact can be found in commentaries on Malangatana's career. They are in biographical accounts,[645] and are of particular importance in the framing and interpretation

[645] See, for example, an account of the child Malangatana using "charcoal and crushed fruit to paint on the sides of houses". S. Kraft, "Artists: Africans revive a tradition, develop indigenous paintings". L.A.: *Los Angeles Times (Orange County Edition)*, 26 September 1988, p.11.

of his practice. The early, influential studies of modern African art habitually presented Malangatana as self-taught.[646] These accounts invariably linked the artist to his patron, the Portuguese architect Pancho Guedes.[647]

4.2.1 The artist and his mentor

Guedes' role in supporting the young Malangatana is well established. He provided space at his home for the artist to work and regularly purchased his paintings. Guedes' support was not only material. He introduced the artist, and/or his work, to a wide and influential network. This introduction was not only personal, it was intellectual, with Guedes playing a critical role in the conceptual framing of the artist.

The short text penned by Guedes for Malangatana's first solo exhibition in 1961 made several pertinent observations that would be picked up by other interlocutors, long after Guedes had ceased to provide regular material support to the artist. Of central import was Guedes' claim that the artist "knows without knowing", and that his natural aptitude was uncorrupted by colonial education.[648]

While Guedes categorically affirmed the authenticity of Malangatana's voice, his patronage of the young artist

[646] Brown op.cit. P.43; Beier, 1968, op.cit. P.59; Mount op.cit. P.160; K. Fosu, *20th Century Art of Africa*. Accra: Artists Alliance, 1986, op.cit. P.211.

[647] Guedes' name appears in texts as Pancho Miranda Guedes and Amâncio d' Alpoim Guedes.

[648] See Guedes quoted in J.N. [Navarro], 4 May 1986, op.cit. P.53.

inevitably introduces questions of his influence on the art of Malangatana. In an informative interview with Malangatana, conducted shortly before his first retrospective exhibition in 1986, the artist acknowledged the influence of his mentor in shaping his artistic outlook. According to Malangatana: "[Guedes] taught me to paint another way. He helped me to understand the value of art, of painting. He impressed on me a cultural and artistic consciousness."[649]

The 'teaching' referred to was indirect, through influencing the artist's approach to his practice, rather than through technical training. Of particular importance was Guedes' encouragement to explore indigenous sources. According to Malangatana, "it was on this that Guedes took a didactic position. He would talk with me and teach me the world of art. But at the same time he told me to return to Matalane and to stay there a month to investigate those cultural and social aspects of life there."[650]

Through the years, Malangatana would balance acknowledgments of Guedes' role with subtle affirmations of his own agency. This had the effect of countering any negative perceptions that could be associated with having been a beneficiary of Guedes' support. More broadly, it served to counter any notions of being steeped in a Western paradigm.

One approach by Malangatana was to affirm his natural gift by linking his creative production to his rural

[649] Matusse op.cit. P.49 (my translation).

[650] Ibid. (My translation)

childhood. In an interview, in 1986, Malangatana acknowledged that his drawing commenced in earnest whilst working at the colonial club, but he traced its genesis to childhood: "It was at that time that I began to draw seriously, an activity that began at Matalane, where I would draw on the ground as if in a notebook."[651] Earlier, in an interview in 1970, i.e. prior to Malangatana's first international sojourn (to Portugal), he provided an account of his artistic development. He located his earliest awareness of art to his exposure as a child to indigenous traditions, with his nascent creativity subsequently nurtured in his mission education. Through citing these formative precedents, he established a narrative wherein he was producing art by the time he moved to Lourenço Marques. This positioning was important in establishing a rural base for his career. It diminished perceptions of acculturation through his experiences in the city. He provided a fairly detailed account of his 'discovery' by the Mozambican art elite, prior to the advent of Guedes.[652] Guedes' arrival at Núcleo de Arte, where Malangatana briefly attended evening classes, is acknowledged, with the observation that Guedes arrived with McEwen, the founding director of the Rhodesian National Gallery, and another influential broker in the young artist's career. The effect of this narrative was to acknowledge a wider range of interlocutors than is customarily presented. In so doing, Malangatana articulated a position that distanced himself from perceptions of overt influence from Guedes, whilst simultaneously acknowledging the hands of several cultural brokers, Guedes among them. This assertion of

[651] Ibid. p.48 (my translation).

[652] Reference is made to supportive roles played by Augusto Cabral, João Ayres and José Júlio. See Mamede op.cit. P.8.

independence became more pronounced as the interview proceeded. The artist claimed not to have looked at any other art during this time. Indeed, he was baffled by the discussion of his work (by Guedes and others), especially regarding its 'surrealism'. He was embarrassed when asked about Picasso, claiming that even at that point (1970) he could not speak confidently about Picasso.[653]

Malangatana and Guedes maintained contact throughout their lives. A strong bond developed between them and also between their families. Guedes continued to be invited to contribute to publications on the artist, long after he had returned to Portugal. The reprinting or select quotations from his initial short essay on Malangatana in subsequent publications about the artist occurs regularly. This constant recourse to Guedes' voice is testament to enduring perceptions of his pivotal role in Malangatana's career, and of his legitimacy as a validating source.

4.2.2 Aesthetics of the autodidact

With few exceptions, self-taught artists apply conventions of visual representation that are seen as naïve, even crude. Autodidacts rarely display technical sophistication. Their rawness is prized by supporters as unpretentious and honest.[654] In one instance, Malangatana

[653] Ibid.

[654] For an early example, see Leah Bach, writing in South Africa's *Rand Daily Mail,* 1964, where Bach comments on the artist's strong colours and lines, which she links to qualities of aggression and directness. Bach, quoted in Anon. [Navarro], 11 May 1986, op.cit. P.53.

himself acknowledged possible technical limitations in his early works, i.e. those paintings most closely associated with the period he was supported by Guedes. However, he countered perceptions of any weaknesses that may be imputed from this observation by emphasising the integrity of both his intentions and the emotive value in his paintings. In his interview with journalist Hilário Matusse, the artist stated that: "Perhaps I had certain technical limitations to represent everything as it appeared. But the feelings were there and every work told a story".[655]

The point that the technique of the autodidact is often overwritten by emotive content was made earlier in a review published in Nigeria, 1962. The writer (possibly Beier) commented that: "Considering his late start his technical facility is incredible, but looking at his works there is little time to admire technique. His works are so explosive it's like lashes to the face."[656]

Acute subjectivity, typically expressed through the use of distortion, is often associated with the autodidact. It is this departure from naturalism (an idiom associated with notions of objectivity and the everyday) that establishes the authenticity of the artist's voice. Fosu (1986), who described Malangatana as "basically a self trained artist" linked the artist's lack of formal training to his originality and stylistic qualities. He referred to a "uniqueness of style [which was expressed

[655] Matusse op.cit. P.50 (my translation).

[656] *Daily Express*, 1962, quoted by Anon. [Navarro], 11 May 1986, op.cit. P.53 (my translation).

through] simple compositions … extreme distortions of heads, facial features … gnarling teeth."[657]

Fosu does not elaborate on these "simple compositions", which could be understood to imply a lack of technical sophistication, a consequence of the artist's status as an autodidact. From his commentary one can deduce that is likely that this 'simplicity' refers to the artist's non-application of realist conventions, especially the absence of linear perspective. This formal quality establishes a shallow pictorial space, which is usually densely populated. This density is both formal, with every part of the canvas crammed with lines, colours and shapes, but it also conceptual, in that the figurative content alludes to a wide range of themes. Understood in these terms, the work is distinctly complex. According to Nigeria's *The Daily Express*, the artist presents "an apocalyptic vision, huge, monstrous and magnificent".[658]

Key to the interpretations of the acute subjectivity is the extreme character of Malangatana's images. According to *The Daily Express*, the artist's "apocalyptic vision" is realised through the juxtaposition of numerous themes and emotions, frequently in conflict or oppositional to each other. Note the work performed by "and", "but", "also" and "or" in this quotation:

> "*There is sex, luxury, tenderness and perversity. There are men, women, animals and monsters in an enormous and fantastic carnival. His pictures are*

[657] Fosu recognises this as a form of political symbol (see 4.3.2 below). Fosu op.cit. Pp.211-212.

[658] Quoted in Anon. [Navarro], 11 May 1986, op.cit. P.52 (my translation).

> *full of witchcraft, prostitution, murder, violations, torture, and also scenes of everyday life … fabulous but real, horrible and beautiful, violent and tender, perverse and poetic. We can be shocked and enchanted with this painter, horrified or profoundly emotional, but one thing is certain – you can't leave his exhibition with the complacency you entered with."*[659]

If the artist unsettles the viewer through the dramatic qualities of his work, the extreme nature of his content is frequently associated with the realities of his existence. His art is presented as an authentic expression of his experience and consciousness. According to a writer in Nigeria's *Morning Post*: "There is nothing sensational or artificial in his works. Nothing is invented, everything is actually seen, experienced and suffered. It's the complete sincerity that makes his works so emotive."[660] What one can glean from this kind of analysis of Malangatana's art is that the 'reality' or 'experience' that underscores the horror in Malangatana's art is not concretised within a colonial context. The 'suffering' is not linked to political oppression. Instead it is a rural, pre-industrial imaginary, populated by witches and monsters, i.e it conforms to a particular Western vision of Africa.

Where biography does enter this primitivising analysis, is in the allusions to madness. Insanity constitutes a thread in the mythology of the autodidact, specifically in cases labeled as 'outsider art'. In such instances

---

[659] Ibid. (My translation, emphasis added)

[660] Ibid. P.53 (my translation).

extreme subjectivity, concretised in images, is linked to unstable states of mind. In Malangatana's case, it is not the artist himself whose mental capacities are questioned, quite the opposite, but it is a realm he is seen to have experienced directly, with consequences for his iconography. References to his mother having a form of mental illness are present in many accounts of the artist, as early as 1962, when the artist's recollection that "[m]y mother went completely mad while my father was on his way back from South Africa, arriving a few months later" was incorporated into Beinart's essay for *Black Orpheus*.[661] It was through this experience that the child Malangatana was apprenticed to a traditional healer, opening him to the world of sorcerers and witches that is such an important part of his early imagery.[662]

This experience legitimised the autodidact's voice. The extreme states visualised in his paintings reflect his liminal existential identity, caught between the quotidian and the unknown. His exposure to a world of madness and witchcraft equips him with the capacity to transgress realms. It is this positioning of the artist as "between natural and supernatural,"[663] that builds on the earlier Nigerian analysis of "fabulous but real".

The *Morning Post* writer[664] compares Malangatana to the Yoruba writer Amos Tutuola:

---

[661] Beinart, 1962, op.cit. P.23.

[662] The artist discusses his mother's madness in an interview in 1970. See Mamede op.cit. P.8.

[663] Kennedy placed Malangatana within a chapter titled "Between natural and supernatural". See J. Kennedy op.cit. Pp.143-154.

[664] The reviews in the two Nigerian newspapers are remarkably similar in their analysis. Both reviews bear resemblance to Beier's writing

> *"Just like Amos Tutuola, Malangatana lives in a world of fantasy, a world of feverish dreams, a world of monsters, murder and blood. But the experience of Malangatana's pictures are more alarming than Tutuola's books. Tutuola always gives us a happy ending, a satisfactory solution. Malangatana always leaves us suspended in terror … it's the vision of a man perturbed and tormented subconsciously."*[665]

Similar accounts of Malangatana were articulated by Portuguese critics in the early 1970s, where overwhelmingly emotive, terrifying qualities are foregrounded.[666] What is interesting about these accounts is that they do not reflect a shift from the mythological to the political, which Malangatana claimed to have taken place at this time.[667] It is "totemic spirits"[668] that are the root of his terror, not Portuguese fascism.

---

on Malangatana (cf. Beier, 1968, op.cit.) Even if Beier did not pen these reviews, one can safely deduce that he had some role in their publication.

[665] Quoted by Anon. [Navarro], 11 May 1986, op.cit. Pp.52-53 (my translation).

[666] Navarro quotes Lima de Freitas (wrting in Portugal's *Diario Popular)*, "regarding the African Malangatana is to speak of a scalding painting … In a pitch that is at the same time open and violent, primitive and sincere, with a direct frankness and obsessive evidence, the painter populates his canvases with a multitude of faces and grimaces, frightening vermin, nocturnal terrors of the forest, totemic spirits, fleshy flowers, violated bodies". J.N. [Navarro], "As Várias Fases da Obra de Malangatana (v)". Maputo: *Tempo*, 1 June 1986, p.47 (my translation).

[667] Matusse op.cit. P.50.

[668] J.N. [Navarro], 1 June 1986, op.cit. P.47.

Later, in the post-independence period, Malangatana provided a political reading of some of his 'mythological' works. He linked the monsters in his paintings to colonialism.[669] And yet, while Malangatana would present some politically inclined interpretations of his earlier work, he was also clear on the link between his work and his state of mind. In an interview in 1986, in response to the question "what is painting?" the artist disclosed that: "To be a little egotistical, above all painting is a form of unburdening. It's for me an open pot where we can unburden all the anxiety and fury as artists. It's a refuge for when I am angry, when I am happy, and when I am contemplative."[670]

While the expressive content of Malangatana's art legitimises its content as his own, the authenticity of his vision hinges on two distinct but related concerns. Guedes' initial text on Malangatana asserted his non-contamination by Western culture. This alludes to the notion of the 'pure' African. However, for the normative framing of the autodidact, it is a question of not being influenced by formal training that underpins that discourse. With Malangatana these two strains converge, he is both 'self-taught' and 'uncontaminated' by western education, reinforcing arguments about the 'purity' or 'honesty' of his work.

Many of the early texts by Portuguese critics conceive of the artist's authenticity in the above terms. Navarro quotes Rocha de Sousa, writing in *Diario de Lisboa*, who refers to "the purity of this painter, his resistance to

[669] Vieira op.cit. P.40.

[670] Matusse op.cit. P.53 (my translation).

contamination from other cultures".[671] In the same article, Navarro cites another Portuguese critic, Afonso Cautela, writing in *O Seculo illustrado,* who described Malangatana as "entirely alien to the world of western art".[672] For Francisco Bronze, another Portuguese critic quoted by Navarro, the non-academic quality of Malangatana's art is derived from his exclusion from formal education. There is hint of extraneous (political) factors at work, in that the artist is "certainly" excluded from the Academy, but this does not appear to constitute a line of argument that is developed by Portuguese critics. The artist's exclusion is converted into a virtue.[673]

Portuguese critics such as de Sousa, de Freitas and Bronze, among others, were engaged in a dual exercise. They were encountering Malangatana for the first time, and were therefore engaged in the challenging process of making sense of his work for themselves. Simultaneously, they were communicating their incipient comprehension to a broader Portuguese public. That they should resort to the stereotype of the uncontaminated African is not surprising. An international audience invested in notions of authenticity embraced the 'pure' nature of Malangatana as constituting the primary thread in establishing his value. However, from a Mozambican, post-independence perspective, other issues become critical to this view of Malangatana. Navarro's use of these Portuguese texts in 1986 is significant. Navarro was not invested in the

---

[671] Anon. [Navarro], "As Várias Fases da Obra de Malangatana (iv). Maputo: *Tempo*, 25 May 1986, p.52 (my translation).

[672] Ibid. P.53 (my translation).

[673] J.N. [Navarro], 1 June 1986, op.cit. P.47.

argument that artists should not be educated. Nor was he arguing that Africans should resist cultural forms that come from Europe.If this was the case, he should have objected to Malangatana's etchings. Navarro's goal was to establish the validity of Malangatana's creative vision, his language as an artist, within a context where his close ties to Portugal could be viewed negatively by nationalists as evidence of him having been compromised by colonialism.[674]

In the post-independence period, the framing of Malangatana as an autodidact became a necessary political strategy. Locating his formative visual influences as principally indigenous dismissed perceptions of him having been unduly influenced by Guedes or, more broadly, by a Eurocentric art education during the colonial period. It also helped distance the artist from perceptions of easel painting as eurocentric and less legitimately authentic than, for instance, wood sculpture.

An allied concern was the need to provide assurance that international exposure and success had not corrupted his authentic vision. This was articulated in the run up to his first retrospective. Matusse noted that despite international exposure Malangatana did not lose his own perspective.[675] Similarly, Navarro was at pains to

[674] This implicit rationale to position the artist as nationalist can also be found in an interview with the artist shortly after his early exposure to Portugal and Europe, where he emphasises that his art has not been influenced by his recent exposure to western art museums. Serra op.cit. P.39.

[675] Matusse op.cit. P.53.

emphasise that Malangatana's exposure to Portugal and Europe did not come with any compromises on his part.[676]

Ironically, in denying external influences, the undeclared analogies with Picasso fall apart. Picasso absorbed many influences from other cultures, translating them into his own visual language. But Malangatana's public was asked to accept that he was oblivious to anything other than indigenous culture and nationalism. The only artistic influences cited were Mozambican, and it was only their example as forerunners, particularly for having crossed racial barriers, rather than their work itself, that was acknowledged by the artist as having been influential. Moreover, we are led to believe that such influence was only at the point that his career was in its initial phases.[677]

These considerations demonstrate that, from a Mozambican perspective, notions of Malangatana as self-taught depart from the normative discourse on authenticity as they were filtered through nationalist concerns.

[676] Anon. [Navarro], 25 May 1986, op.cit. P.52.

[677] Matusse op.cit. P.51.

4.3 Revolutionary icon

American art historian Elizabeth Schneider's second article on Malangatana for the prominent journal *African Arts* was titled "Artist of the Revolution".[678] While Schneiders' understanding of the revolutionary context for Malangatana was problematic, if not confused,[679] there is no doubt that for an international audience this framing of Malangatana as a revolutionary was influential and enduring. There can also be little doubt that this image of Malangatana has currency in Mozambique itself.

Frelimo leadership and urban intellectuals (including Malangatana) visiting Frelimo cadres in Tanzania, 1974.
Source Frelimo Information Department / CasaComum.org, http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_117516 (2019-2-4)

[678] E.A. Schneider, "Malangatana: Artist of the revolution". Los Angeles: *African Arts*, v.21, n.3, pp.58-63.

[679] Schneider defines the Revolution as the period between the Portuguese coup and the independence of Mozambique. For a critique of her interpretation of the revolutionary period see Pissarra [*Farafina*] op.cit. P.16.

Malangatana's position as a symbol of the Mozambican revolution hinges on two points:

i) His record as a political activist, during the colonial and postcolonial periods; and

ii) Interpretation of his art as expressly political, specifically anti-colonial and pro-Frelimo.

4.3.1 Revolutionary artist

Malangatana's political credentials are usually established through reference to his incarceration in 1965. His 18 months in jail were chronicled in hundreds of drawings that have been published and exhibited. Brief references to his incarceration are consistently cited in biographies of the artist.[680] These references are bolstered by the political gestures he made during the anti/colonial period, as well as the political positions he held after independence.

Malangatana's meeting, through Guedes, with Eduardo Mondlane was decisive in his poltical development. The young artist had hoped for the future founding president of Frelimo to provide access to international opportunities. However, Mondlane encouraged him to remain in Mozambique, and urged him to use his art as a contribution towards the anti-colonial struggle.[681]

[680] For details of Malangatana's imprisonment, and the sequence of events leading up to it, see Caldeira and André op.cit.

[681] Matusse op.cit. Pp.49-50.

Published references to Malangatana's political role preceding his incarceration in 1965 are sketchy.[682] Two decades later, in the build up to his first retrospective exhibition, Malangatana provided some insights into the evolution of his political consciousness in the early 60s. He cited the influence of Craveirinha, Daniel Tome Magaia, Rui Nogar, and Luís Bernardo Honwana.[683] Significantly he referred to these contacts as being made "away from the house of Guedes",[684] thereby affirming a distinction between his artistic and political mentors. The clandestine role he played as a barman at the colonial club allowed him to relay the content of conversations between the colonial elite to his network of political activists.[685] This cohort encouraged him to read. In particular he cited a novel about an Algerian servant in the bars of the French, which resonated with his own condition and helped him develop a "correct consciousness" that began to impact on his art.[686] The artist was jailed alongside those he credited as political influences. This lends credence to claims that he was jailed for suspected links to Frelimo.[687]

Reflecting on the shifts in his consciousness that took place in the 1960s, and how this impacted on his art, Malangatana remarked that:

---

[682] Some detail on his participation in Frelimo's urban underground network is provided in Manhique op.cit.

[683] Matusse op.cit. P.50.

[684] Ibid. (My translation)

[685] Ibid.

[686] Ibid. (My translation)

[687] Anon. "Malangatana Homenageado no Pais e na Diaspora". Maputo: *Zambeze*, 31 March 2005.

> *"If my 1961 exhibition was distinguished by mythological aspects, this changes afterwards. My friends that I met away from the house of Guedes made me see that I couldn't only deal with mythology. They told me of insurrection in Angola, at that time, and of the real Mozambican problems … I began to paint more aggressively. I painted monsters attacking and suffocating Man, problems in the docks, carriers of buckets of sewage in the suburbs … broader themes for a bigger social purpose."*[688]

Consequently, according to the artist, his first two solo exhibitions were worlds apart. He entered the 1970s full of political purpose:

> *"My first exhibition had 57 works. All of them with mythological themes. My second solo in 1970 was made with a political meaning … unburdening against the situation here at that time. I was not a pamphlet writer. But the works were full with a political meaning and feeling."*[689]

The timing of these reflections is significant. The frequency of Malangatana's solo exhibitions was deeply affected by political issues during the colonial period,

---

[688] Matusse op.cit. P.50 (my translation).

[689] Ibid. P.53. (My translation) A few years later, in reflecting on his evolving political consciousness in the 1960s, the artist recalls that "I began to develop a certain political awareness, and the certainty that the artist must always, as a man, take the place that an intellectual should occupy in the struggles of the people to whom he belongs: in the front line, in the vanguard of these struggles." Anon. [*Indico*] op.cit. P.23.

as it was in the years following independence. As discussed in the previous chapter, his public profile receded significantly in the mid to late 1960s, both nationally and internationally, and this was surely a response to his being marked politically subversive by the colonial regime. While he began to establish a career in Portugal in the early 1970s, solo exhibitions in post-independence Mozambique were non-existent for the first decade. His national output comprised group shows until his retrospective in 1986. As argued in the previous chapter as well as in the following section, political developments within the country created new conditions which Malangatana and Frelimo exploited to mutual advantage. In 1986, as he was poised to enter a new phase, Malangatana still needed to assert that his work in the colonial period could not, and should not have been, viewed by the political elite as evidence of him being compromised by colonialism. This is a subtext of the interview with Matusse.[690] This theme is sustained in a series of articles by Navarro in the months preceding his 1986 retrospective.[691]

Navarro shed further light on Malangatana's early, anti-colonial politics. He noted that Malangatana refused to represent Portugal at the São Paulo Biennale, and withdrew his works from the *Artists of Mozambique* exhibition, then showing in Johannesburg (and due to travel to Pretoria and Durban), as a protest against the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela. He also signaled

[690] Matusse op.cit.

[691] Navarro, 1986, op.cit.

Malangatana's militancy by noting that the artist painted a work titled *Black Christ* at this time.[692]

Navarro's account of the early Malangatana is significant in that it highlights how the very act of being a black artist in a colonial setting had political overtones. Navarro noted that when *Noticias* published responses of visitors to Malangatana's first solo exhibition, negative commentary from colonials was included. This observation moderates the view that the settler art world was unanimous in its support for Malangatana, an observation that helped to establish the persona of the artist as anti-colonial.[693]

Malangatana's Portuguese scholarship, during the late colonial period, could have been viewed by nationalists as a sign of collusion with the enemy. It is thus not surprising that Navarro, a Malangatana loyalist, went to some length to address the artist's relationship with the metropole. Navarro highlighted efforts by the colonial government to appropriate the artist as evidence of Portugal's multi-racialism.[694] Navarro also provided details of PIDE's efforts to prevent Malangatana visiting Portugal on a Gulbenkian scholarship, and subsequently to

---

[692] Anon. [Navarro], 11 May 1986, op.cit. P.54. This work, according to the artist, was painted as a tribute to Nelson Mandela.

[693] Anon. [Navarro], 11 May 1986, op.cit. Pp.52-53

[694] According to Navarro, Dutra Faria, executive director of *ANI*, the propaganda agency of colonialism, tried to appropriate Malangatana as evidence of Portugal's multi-racialism. Navarro dismissed Faria's efforts to misrepresent Cabral, Guedes and Navarro as Portuguese supporters of Malangatana (and by extension, representatives of the benevolent metropole). Anon. [Navarro], 11 May 1986, op.cit. P.54.

stage manage the event.[695] He also emphatically insisted that Malangatana used the opportunities presented by the scholarship without compromising himself in any way.[696]

Navarro also provided some detail of Malangatana's political profile in the post-independence period. Navarro described Malangatana as a loyal cadre, whose artistic career took second place to the political demands of this time:

> *"Malangatana involved himself profoundly in the new tasks his country was facing. Linked at first to the Political Commission of the Institute of Work, he helped solve labour problems that arose at that time, then he assisted in the creation of the gallery of arts and crafts, the Museum of National Art and gave classes at the Centre for African Studies and in the Faculty of Education."*[697]

A later report in *Zambeze Cultural* noted the official political positions held by Malangatana.It reported that he became a Frelimo deputy from 1990-1994, and through

---

[695] According to Navarro, PIDE threatened the artist, escorted him to the airport and issued further threats. Then, hoping to turn this around for propaganda purposes, the Regime tried to organise an official exhibition and to get the artist to grant an interview to an official publication, with Malangatana successfully evading both these events. Ibid. P.52.

[696] A point made strongly in the heading "Portugal and Europe consecration without compromise". Anon. [Navarro], 25 May 1986, op.cit. P.52 (my translation). Earlier, Malangatana spoke of not compromising himself by not entering into contracts with European galleries. Serra op.cit. P.39.

[697] J.N. [Navarro], 8 June 1986, op.cit. P.50 (my translation).

Frelimo, was a member of the Maputo municipal council.[698] While there is little detail published on Malangatana's public life as a political figure, this does not discount the widely held perceptions of his political commitment.

4.3.2 Revolutionary art

Questions arise regarding whether Malangatana's art contributed towards his imprisonment,[699] or was secondary to his links with Frelimo members, or whether his paintings were of less political consequence than his symbolic acts of dissent (such as his political gestures towards the São Paulo Biennale and Rivionia Trial). These questions are intriguing because they raise further questions concerning the extent to which the colonial authorities possessed sufficient visual literacy to interpret the content of his work as political. If so, why is commentary on this subversive aspect largely absent during the colonial period? Does this silence reflect censorship, self-imposed or official? This line of enquiry introduces yet more questions regarding whether a disproportionate political accent emerged retrospectively, to accommodate contemporary, post-independence pressures to legitimise the artist's practice as anti-colonial.

While claims have been made that Malangatana was jailed because of the subversive nature of his artwork,[700] it can

---

[698] Anon. [*Zambeze*], 31 March 2005, op.cit.

[699] His "angry canvasses … drew the ire of colonial authorities…". Kraft op.cit. P.11.

[700] According to a Mozambican news report in 1991, persecution by PIDE was a consequence of the social and political intensity of his works.

be observed that with the exception of his prison drawings, occasional narrative inclined paintings, and the grim social realism of his early images of workers on the docks, the artist largely eschewed didactic content. He favoured evocative, often unsettling works that are open to a wide variety of interpretations. The question then becomes to what extent does Malangatana's iconography allow for interpretation in literal terms?

Even with the didactic content of work done in imprisonment, Malangatana applies a vocabulary that fluctuates between realism and linear narrative on one hand, and metaphor and symbol on the other. This is noted by Navarro, who comments on the prison drawings that the works are either reportage, documenting daily life in prison, or symbolic, citing examples such as dreams of life outside prison walls; twisted deformed flutists; and death and torture in daily life.[701]

Certainly, it can be observed that commentary on his art as having expressly political content was rare until 1986. That year, the year of Malangatana's first retrospective exhibition, coincided with Kojo Fosu's study of contemporary African art. Unlike earlier texts on the subject, specifically those by Brown (1966), Beier (1968) and Mount (1973) Fosu was the first author of an independent survey of the broad contemporary African art

---

See "Malangatana pinta mural gigante". Maputo: *Noticias,* 12 September 1991. Elsewhere, Rosemont and Kelly claim that the inclusion of Malangatana's work in the 1963 Angolan exhibition drew attention to the artist and led to the curator (Artur do Cruzeiro Seixas) being interrogated by PIDE. Rosemont and Kelley op.cit. P. 184.

[701] J.N. [Navarro], "As Várias Fases da Obra de Malangatana (iii)". Maputo: *Tempo*, 18 May 1986, p.48.

field who attributed political content to Malangatana's paintings. According to Fosu: "[The artist's] extreme distortions of heads, facial features … gnarling teeth … are *symbolic expressions* which he utilizes to represent violence and deprivation that have been perpetrated against his country by the oppression of colonialism. Therefore many of his paintings and drawings carry political overtones."[702]

Malangatana, as discussed earlier, provided a similar reading in 1986 of his monsters as anti-colonial symbols or metaphors. He reiterated this view 24 years later when he asserted that he "used monsters to combat colonialism".[703] Interestingly, with examples of political content focusing on "monsters", other elements in Malangatana's iconography are ignored. This may indicate a reticence or inability to engage critically with individual works. It may also be a consequence of the artist's unbounded approach to image making: few images are self-contained. Iconography and themes resurface in various works sometimes over swathes of time. As will be argued in the following chapter, it is through considering multiple representations of particular visual signs that 'meanings' emerge.[704] Given the daunting nature

---

[702] Fosu op.cit. Pp.211-212 (emphasis added).

[703] Vieira op.cit. P.40 (my translation).

[704] According to Navarro there is a new optimism in the work produced in Nampula (1978-1980), in step with the aspirations of the revolutionary moment. He maintains that Malangatana's work began to no longer present only a "great anxiety but to open the zones of hope and construction." J.N. [Navarro], 8 June 1986, op.cit. P.51 (my translation). In a subsequent article, Navarro maintains this new mood is carried through into Malangatana's paintings on his return from Nampula at the end of 1980, as reflected in his new earthy palette and the beginnings of space being opened up. J.N. [Navarro],

and complexity of imterpreting Malangatana's art, commentators seeking to present Malangatana as politically inspired tend to resort to the easier option of allowing the title of the work to decipher its content.[705] What is noteworthy about this practice is that, aside from the narrowed literal interpretations offered by the title, no further commentary and analysis is presented.

If the convention of easel painting has at times struggled to shake off its Western pedigree, the positioning of Malangatana's paintings as being revolutionary has been aided by his work as a muralist. Mural painting, in accordance with the precedent set by Diego Rivera and the Mexican muralists, is a socially engaged practice that takes art out of the rarefied space of the white cube[706] into direct contact with the public.[707] It is this aspect of mural painting that appealed to Malangatana. His achievements as a muralist were limited in that he paid little attention to the

---

15 June 1986, op.cit. P.52. Costa maintains that Malangatana was still in Nampula for some of 1981. Email correspondence, 5 January 2019.

[705] See for example J.N. [Navarro], 18 May 1986, op.cit. P.48; and Kraft op.cit. P.11.

[706] The concept of the gallery as a white cube was first theorised by Brian O'Doherty in the influential journal *Art Forum* in 1976. See B. O'Doherty, *Inside the White Cube: The Ideology of the Gallery Space*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999.

[707] In the early 1990s Malangatana painted a mural in the library at the University of the Western Cape. I attended an informal public discussion on the mural. In response to my question regarding the distinction between mural painting and easel painting, Malangatana's reply was that murals were in public spaces.

formal considerations necessary for site-specific art,[708] and his 'public' was sometimes the client, as when he painted murals for national and commercial banks.[709] Nonetheless, the very fact that he painted murals, and was known for this, contributed to his construction as a revolutionary artist.[710]

4.4 Symbol of Mozambican culture

When Malangatana was pictured before his easel for an article on Mozambique that appeared in a 1964 edition of *National Geographic*, no one could have foreseen the extent to which he would become one of Mozambique's best

[708] The UWC mural demonstrates the artist's tendency to approach murals as outdoor canvasses and to ignore site specific aspects. There is a pillar in front of the mural, but Malangatana approached his wall as if the pillar was not there. His mural on an exterior wall at the Centre for African Studies at the University of Eduardo Mondlane can be similarly critiqued. The wall is a long one, set off from the path to the Department. The length of the wall is disproportionate to the constrained space in front of it. No consideration has been given to these awkward spatial aspects, with the image designed to be viewed frontally.

[709] The earliest example was a series of panels designed to be fixed to a wall of the Banco de Moçambique in 1964. A second, 'proper' mural was painted for Barclays Bank in Lourenço Marques, 1967. See G.G. Pereira et al. Op.cit. pp.6-7. That these murals were painted shortly before and after his imprisonment is interesting as it says something about fissures in the colonial politics, as well as about the artist's ability to 'speak' to different constituencies.

[710] See J. Seidman, "Malangatana Fire: Judy Seidman remembers the Mozambican revolutionary painter", *Signal 02: A Journal of International Political Graphics.* Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2012, pp.6-27.

known citizens, and an unparalleled symbol of Mozambican culture for an international audience.[711]

Malangatana photographed for National Geographic, 1962.
Source: CasaComum.org op.cit.

The transformation of Malangatana, the visual artist and man, into a cultural figure who embodies national identity hinges on two complementary readings of the artist:

i) Malangatana is not only Mozambique's premier visual artist, he is a total artist,[712] excelling in all art forms.

ii) The artist is rooted in indigenous Mozambican culture.

---

[711] V. Wentzel, "Mozambique: Land of the good people", *National Geographic*, August 1964, pp.196-231.

[712] The concept of a "total artist" is borrowed from Couto, 1989, op.cit.

4.4.1 Becoming 'Great'

It was Guedes, in his essay for Malangatana's first solo exhibition, who began the practice of making bold claims about the stature of Malangatana. He wrote that: "In spite of being a novice, he is already one of the major painters from Africa."[713] This view was echoed by Beier, who met Malangatana through Guedes in 1961. Beier told a journalist that he considered Malangatana to be one of the greatest artists in Africa, an accolade that was recorded in the heading of a news report in Mozambique.[714]

It is interesting that both Guedes and Beier proclaimed a continental stature for the artist, reflective of their awareness of contemporary African art as a transnational phenomenon. In 1989, *Gallery*, a Zimbabwean publication, noted the artist's contribution to the visual arts of *southern* Africa.[715] On the whole, however, Malangatana is invariably tied to the nation-state. It is as a Mozambican artist that he is mostly lauded. This practice of heralding his greatness as a specifically Mozambican artist was pronounced in 1972, when the Portuguese newspaper *O Seculo* published a 12-page feature on the artist, where he was acclaimed as the "greatest" Mozambican painter.[716]

Public pronouncements of greatness were discouraged in the post-independence period in Mozambique.Intellectuals

[713] Guedes quoted by J.N. [Navarro], 4 May 1986, op.cit. P.52 (my translation).

[714] Anon. [*Noticias*], 6 May 1961, op.cit.

[715] Couto, 1989, op.cit. P.12 (emphasis added).

[716] Cited in Anon. [Navarro], 25 May 1986 op.cit. P.53 (my translation).

had to establish their revolutionary credentials as being 'of the people'. Indeed, it was at this time that Malangatana's stature was rivaled by Chissano. The authenticity of Malangatana's primary medium, easel painting, was questioned as an appropriate form for 'popular arts'. By contrast, Chissano was recognised as the nation's principal sculptor. His medium (wood) could be seen as an extension of Makonde wood carving, the legitimacy of which as a popular cultural expression was, at that point, unassailable. The two artists enjoyed a status equivalent to that of unofficial ambassadors, and travelled on diplomatic passports. There was some rivalry as evidenced in statements by Malangatana who asserted his superiority as having made his mark, socially and artistically, before Chisssano emerged.[717]

It is only in 1986, when Malangatana's retrospective exhibition was scheduled to open at the National Museum of Art, with official state support, that this language of 'greatness' re-emerges in the national conversation.

Malangatana's retrospective occurred three years after he received a national award for his contribution to Mozambican culture.[718] This award signaled improved relations with the political leadership, following his role in establishing the national museum, in the period immediately after his 'deployment' to Nampula (1978-1980). His retrospective was an unprecedented act in Mozambique. If any artist had previously held a retrospective exhibition in Mozambique, certainly none

[717] See Matusse op.cit. P.51.

[718] J.N. [Navarro], 15 June 1986, op.cit. P.53. He is "indisputably the greatest" Mozambican visual artist. Anon. [*Indico*] op.cit. P.21.

had done so on the scale of this event, and no artist had received equivalent official sanction and support.

Malangatana's exhibition represented a dramatic shift in official policy. This was in line with broader social, political and economic changes that were occurring in Mozambique. For the artist, his first retrospective signaled his formal entry into the official canon of Mozambican art, then in its early stages of construction. Interlocutors, like Navarro, worked hard to influence the broad public of the significance of the event. Expert opinion was called upon to validate this momentous occasion. It was at this juncture, 1986, that statements such as "Malangatana is undoubtedly the greatest Mozambican painter" began to be encountered in the Mozambican press.[719] It was at this point that Navarro resurrected Guedes' and Beier's statements about Malangatana's greatness,[720] as well as *O Seculo*'s laudatory headline.[721] Navarro complemented these acclamations with quotations from published commentaries on Malangatana, mostly international.[722] Navarro particularly used the acclaim of Portuguese critics to assert that it was in Portugal that Malangatana was

[719] Matusse op.cit. P.53 (my translation).

[720] J.N. [Navarro], 4 May 1986, op.cit. Pp.52-53; and Anon. [Navarro], 11 May 1986, op.cit. P.53.

[721] Anon. [Navarro], 25 May 1986, op.cit. P.53.

[722] These sources were principally Nigerian, South African and Portuguese. The series of articles Navarro published on Malangatana in *Tempo* in 1986 comprise in large part of quotes from writers, mostly international. There is no intellectual engagement with the content of these quotes, as their purpose is to affirm the artist in the eyes of the Mozambican public. This practice becomes a norm in the literature on Malangatana, with publications frequently publishing several pages of selected comments.

"consecrated" as an artist.[723] This implied that Mozambicans needed to take note of international opinion and value their own.

Malangatana, it was argued, occupied an unparalleled position in Mozambican visual arts. This claim became a standard feature in articles on the artist. Proclamations of greatness were (and still are) particularly evident in reports linked to major events designed to honour the artist.[724]

To support absolute proclamations, a standard approach has been to list all the visual arts media ever used by the artist as evidence. This practice implies excellence in all media, irrespective of media rarely used and clearly not of the same standard as his paintings and drawings. For instance, in introducing his series of articles on Malangatana in the build up to his first retrospective Navarro lauded the breadth of visual arts media used by the artist.[725] Eight years later, in an

---

[723] Navarro notes Malangatana's all works on sale at the artist's first two exhibitions in Lisbon (at the SNBA and Galleria Bucholz) sold almost immediately. This commercial success is complemented by critical success, with overwhelmingly positive media coverage. Anon. [Navarro], 25 May 1986, op.cit. Pp.53 (my translation).

[724] For instance, a 2005 report on the launch of a project to honour Malangatana describes him as "the greatest Mozambican plastic artist of all time". Anon. "Lancado Projecto de Homenagem ão Artista Plastico Malangatana". Maputo: *Noticias*, 24 March 2005, p.15 (my translation). A subsequent report hails the artist as "our greatest exponent of the plastic arts." See F. Manjate "Malangatana atingiu a dimensão da humanidade". Maputo: *Noticias,* 25 March 2005, p.23 (my translation).

[725] Navarro refers to drawings, acrylics oils, watercolours, etchings, ceramics, tapestry, metal sculpture, illustrations, and graphics. J.N. [Navarro], 4 May 1986, op.cit. P.52.

interview preceding a major exhibition of Malangatana's paintings in Mozambique, Navarro began by emphasising Malangatana's achievements as a plastic artist. Malangatana was not just as a painter but also as an artist proficient in sculpture, drawings, watercolours, gouaches, mixed media, ceramics, etchings, and tapestry designs.[726] One can note that 'sculpture' was not broken into specific media (certainly not wood, Chissano's sole area of expertise), but watercolours and gouache, both paint media, were presented as additional to 'painting'. There was thus a maximising of his portfolio rather than a crisp summation. One can also observe that ceramics and etchings were largely limited to Malangatana's scholarship in Portugal and not sustained on any significant scale, and that his tapestry designs were drawings that were then converted into that medium, with minimal input from the artist. The list applied little rigour in mapping the diversity of the artist's prowess in the plastic arts. In his book on Malangatana, Navarro ensured that this breadth of media was represented pictorially, but it is also clear that Malangatana was principally a painter, with paintings and ink drawings dominant.[727]

In rare instances, there is published criticism of Malangatana's use of visual arts media.[728] But generally,

[726] Navarro, 1994, op.cit. P.16.

[727] Paintings dominate, mostly oil but also acrylic. Followed by drawings, mostly in ink. There is nominal representation of prints, ceramics, embroideries, murals and metal sculpture.

[728] In a rare example of critical commentary on Malangatana's artistic prowess, Garizo do Carmo, writing in the catalogue of Malangatana's exhibition at Coop Gallery, following Malangatana's return from his Gulbenkian funded scholarship in Portugal, noted that the results of his introduction to ceramics and etchings were "rudimentary testimony

it is the simple fact of him having produced work in a specific media that is celebrated as evidence of his mastery of multiple media. Nowhere was this more apparent than with his use of marble, late in his career. The use of marble itself is a potent signifier of conservative values in art. It refers to Antiquity, although in art it is perhaps most closely associated with the work of Michaelangelo (1475-1564). It is a material of an elite, indelibly associated with a 'golden' (imperial) age of Western Culture. Michaelangelo himself is a potent signifier, identified with the notion of the Renaissance Man, a supra-being who excels in multiple disciplines, a suitable analogy for the affirming of Malangatana as a "total artist". Malangatana's achievements in marble are questionable. Firstly, unlike Michaelangelo, he did not carve the stone himself, leaving this to expert craftsmen. Secondly, he treated marble as a two-dimensional surface, producing relief panels rather than fully-fledged sculptures, for which the material is most suited. If this alone did not affirm the artist's principal merits as an artist who produced two-dimensional works, he *drew* on marble in *colour*, producing effects that are of debatable aesthetic merit. Regardless of these shortcomings the very use of marble aggrandised his stature as an artist and Malangatana himself claimed that his work in marble marked a new phase in his work.[729]

---

that in such a short period of training [his command of these media] cannot mature … this doesn't detract from his true natural form of expression: painting." Comments published in "Garizo do Carmo apresenta Malangatana". Anon. [*O Cooperador*] op.cit. (My translation)

[729] L. Zuzarte, "A Maior Obra de Malangatana". Maputo: *Verdade*, 4 September 2009, pp.14-15. See also Anon. "Moçambique Inaugorou em Portugal a Maior Obra de Malangatana". Maputo: *Verdade,* 18 September 2009, pp.15-16. *Verdade* is a free, mass circulation, weekly magazine

Various commentators lionised the marble panels, not least Honwana who produced a short paper on these works.[730] The public commission in Barreiro, which prompted the introduction of marble, was hailed by one journalist as his most significant work.[731] In this instance, the symbolic capital of the material itself was conflated with the significance of the monument as a symbol of Mozambican and Portuguese cultural and political relations.

A further strategy regularly applied to affirm the greatness of the artist has been to map his impressive success in exhibiting in countless countries. This reportage has invariably limited references to the names of countries, or less often, to cities. This is out of step with the conventions of the field whereby exhibition entries usually identify galleries and the titles of curated shows. This omission of crucial details implies a general lack of differentiation between group shows and solo exhibitions, and between works hung in obscure private galleries and those hung in municipal halls or prestigious galleries. The data does not reflect a qualitative analysis of his exhibited work. Rather, these are lists designed to impress by the sheer number of countries entered, thereby confirming his global impact and affirming his international standing.

---

that targets poor communities. K. Baldwin, "How One Magazine Wants to Change Mozambique". Online: *Time*, 28 December 2010, http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2039433,00.html

[730] L.B. Honwana, "Malangatana e os seus Painéis", in M. Couto and L.B. Honwana, *Malangatana [&] Forjaz: Celebrando as artes "pedras e arquitectura"*. Maputo, 2008, pp.5-10.

[731] Zuzarte op.cit. P.14. See also Anon [*Verdade*], op.cit. P.15.

An innovation on Navarro's part was to introduce the notion of different artistic phases. The effect of this strategy was to imply comparisons with artists such as Picasso, who produced radically different works at various points in his career, prompting art historians to denote different 'periods'. It is possible to detect shifts in Malangatana's works but these are not as dramatic as those associated with Picasso, and it is not on the basis of stylistic or thematic shifts that Navarro constructs phases for Malangatana. Rather, Navarro delineated phases that were largely based on events in the artist's life. Their main function was to affirm diversity, growth, and through implicit analogies (principally with Picasso), to establish his greatness.[732]

Such was Malangatana's dominance of the visual arts in Mozambique that he became emblematic of the nation's visual arts in general. This process began with early studies of modern African art. Brown, the first author to feature Malangatana in an independent visual arts study, allocated four pages to "Mozambique and Angola", with Malangatana receiving the longest entry.[733] With Beier, whose *Contemporary African Art* was the first study of the field to reach a wide audience, Malangatana features prominently in his chapter "Finding a short cut". Ten of the fifteen pages in this chapter are dedicated to

[732] That Navarro considered his invention of phases as the pinnacle of his intellectual contribution to scholarship on Malangatana is evident in the appendix to his monograph on the artist, where he limits reference to his previous writing on Malangatana to a listing of these phases. These are presented alongside quotes from other writers.

[733] Brown op.cit. P.46.

Malangatana. No other Mozambican artist was featured by Beier.[734]

Malangatana had an advantage over his national peers in relation to being introduced to an international audience. Consistent with his prominence, Malangatana has been used frequently as an entry point for the introduction of Mozambican art.[735] In extreme cases Malangatana *is* Mozambican (visual) arts.[736] Malangatana's prominence has been regularly affirmed in international publications, where he has dominated representation of Mozambican artists, and this in turn has affirmed his stature at home.

Malangatana's stature was reinforced by his portrayal as a mentor. Navarro quoted a Portuguese source to affirm Malangatana's patronage of the Mozambican art scene, stating that: "The artistic manifestation of Malangatana is securely documented from the time of a Mozambican school that emerged in the 1960s *under his protection* of which the following stand out: Mankeu, Samate, Muhlanga, Chichorro and Matsinhe".[737] A Mozambican journalist

---

[734] Beier, 1968, op.cit. Pp.61-72.

[735] E. Maximiano and M.A. Vinhas, "Malangatana e a Pintura Moçambicana". *Jornal do Professor*, n.4, 1981, pp.26-9.

[736] A. de Carvalho, "No Panorama dos Artistas Mundias: Malangatana é Moçambique". Maputo: *Domingo,* 25 April 2010, p.17.

[737] Navarro gives the source as Cartaxo e Trinidade, "Malangatana: Realismo fantastico Africano", *Vida Mundial,* 1973. J.N. [Navarro], 1 June 1986, op.cit. P.46 (my translation, emphasis added). An extract from the same text appears in the official presspack prepared for Malangatana's 1989 retrospective in Portugal, where the writer is identified as "Cartaxo Trinidade". Secretaria de Estado da Cultura Imprensa, "Exposição Retrospectiva: Malangatana, Sociedade Nacional de Belas-Artes, 17 Outobro – 12 Novembro 1989", p.28. The correct

commented that: "[Malangatana] took on the position of mentor and major dynamising force behind what became one of the most important and significant Mozambican artistic movements."[738] Later, Mia Couto, a leading Mozambican writer and important interlocutor for the artist, described Malangatana as the giant tree that provided the shade that allowed other Mozambican artists to flourish.[739] The ideas of nurturing and protection apparent in these quotes underline the benevolent nature of Malangatana's hegemonic position. His success, it was claimed, benefitted the nation's artists (and the nation) as a whole.

Thus, it is argued that various techniques or methods can be observed in the manner in which Malangatana's numerous achievements were communicated to national and international publics. For the artist's champions (Navarro being the prime but by no means only example), these means were part of the broader goal of establishing the dominance of Malangatana. These distinct methods, through their mutually complementary nature and cumulative effect, sustained over long periods, were effective in establishing an unassailable position for Malangatana as the premier Mozambican visual artist.

Although Malangatana was always principally a painter, he was more than a visual artist. The practice of various art forms, and the acclaim he would receive for this would be decisive in elevating him from being a plastic

---

name of this writer appears to be Cartacho Trinidade. See Pelayo op.cit. P.260.

[738] Anon. [*Indico*] op.cit. P.28.

[739] Technically, Couto refers to "writers", although the analogy extends to visual artists. Couto, 1989, op.cit. P.13.

artist to being a cultural figure.

4.4.2 Total artist

Couto presented an image of Malangatana as a creative force unbounded by artistic disciplines. The celebrated writer asserted that "Malangatana paints, sculpts, writes, narrates, sings and dances. He is a total artist, able to cross the artificial borders which have been erected between the different forms of artistic expression."[740] This quote highlights the interdisciplinarity of "artistic expression", acting to validate Malangatana by implicitly aligning him with notions of traditional African art.

Couto's conception of the total artist was an eloquent summation of an emerging trend to describe the artist as proficient in various art forms. Whereas Navarro, in 1986, made the case for the diversity of Malangatana as a visual artist, by 1994 Malangatana's friend and champion had embraced a broader conceptualising of his artistic output. Navarro noted that in addition to visual arts, Malangatana was "also a poet, singer, dancer, and percussionist".[741]

The interdisciplinary aspect of Malangatana's creativity became increasingly a standard entry in his biography. It is seen in the announcement for a major retrospective at ISPA in 2004. The Portuguese public was invited to

[740] Ibid. P.12.

[741] Navarro, 1994, op.cit. P.16 (my translation).

> *" … learn more about the painter, considered one of the sacred monsters of contemporary African culture … besides drawings, watercolours, etchings, ceramics, culture, tapestries he's also an actor, instrumentalist, cultural animator … the list doesn't end here."*[742]

During the final years of his life, Malangatana was habitually described as more than a visual artist, and certainly more than just a painter. A news report broadcast on the occasion of Malangatana receiving a national award from President Guebeza - the Order of Eduardo Mondlane, first grade – maintained that the award was "in recognition of his tireless involvement as painter, writer and singer, in various fronts of Education and Culture."[743] In the same report, the President referred to Malangatana as "painter, sculptor, poet, dancer, dynamic promoter of arts and culture, politician and promoter of peace and harmony among Men."[744]

The implications of being hailed for culture, politics, and peace are addressed elsewhere in this chapter, the key points to note here are his official recognition as poet and dancer. Similarly, the eulogy for Malangatana's honorary doctorate given by Forjaz, another important interlocutor for Malangatana, foregrounded all

---

[742] Anon. Malangatana Expoe no ISPA", Lisboa: *Africa Hoje*, March 2004", p.144 (my translation). Founded in 1985, *Africa Hoje* is a monthly magazine that was pioneering in its focus on building relations between Portuguese speaking countries. Anon. "Personality of the Week: Alberico Cardoso". Online: *Pravda*, 14 March 2005, http://www.pravdareport.com/opinion/columnists/14-03-2005/7877-cardoso-0/

[743] Jamisse, 2006, op.cit. (My translation).

[744] Ibid. (My translation)

Malangatana's cultural activities, prior to Forjaz 'remembering' that the artist was also a painter.[745] A posthumous article on the artist, published in the official magazine of the national airways, was headed "Master of *All* Arts".[746]

While the above quotations affirm the position of Malangatana as, in Couto's terms, a total artist, these eulogies elicit questions of proficiency. What can we learn from the literature?

In Mozambique, Malangatana's poetry was published as early as 1962 when "Poema de Amor" (Poem of Love) was published in a local newspaper.[747] This was subsequent to his debut as a poet, in *Black Orpheus*, the Nigeria-based journal founded and published by Beier. Two poems were featured in *Black Orpheus*, without comment, within the context of an article on the artist written by Beinart.

The two poems that appeared in *Black Orpheus* were republished the following year in *Modern Poetry in Africa*, co-edited by Beier and published by Penguin Books. *Modern Poetry* was an influential publication. It was the first major anthology of modern African poetry,

---

[745] J. Forjaz, "Elogio ão Malangatana Valente Ngwenha", in *Proler* op.cit. P.17.

[746] Sopa, 2011, op.cit. Pp.22-28 (emphasis added).

[747] "Poema de Amor". Lourenço Marques: *A Voz da Moçambique*, Sept/Oct 1962. This newspaper was founded in the late 1950s by white Mozambicans who were members of the liberal Associação dos Naturais de Moçambique. In 1964 the Portuguese authorities took control of the newspaper. F. Barton, *The Press of Africa: Persecution and Perserverance*. London & Basingstoke: The MacMillan Press Ltd. 1979, p.172.

with numerous reprints.[748] *Modern Poetry* featured 49 poets from 19 countries, with Mozambique and Malangatana comparatively well represented.[749]

While Malangatana's biography in *Modern Poetry* highlighted his activity as a painter, suggesting that he was not principally a poet, Malangatana's meteoric ascent as a visual artist in the 1960s was complemented by his profile as a poet. He was included in an early anthology of African and African-American poetry edited by Langston Hughes,[750] and in later poetry anthologies.[751]

Notably, however, Malangatana'a achievements as a poet in the colonial period did not match his acclaim as a visual artist. While he is present in all the major pioneering surveys of modern African art, he was not always selected for anthologies of African and Mozambican poetry. He was not among the 29 poets featured in the anthology of

---

[748] G. Moore and U. Beier (eds), *Modern Poetry in Africa,* Penguin Books, 1963. Numerous reprints – 1965, 1966, revised 1968, 1970, 1973.

[749] Mozambique was represented by Craveirinha, Noemia de Sousa, and Malangatana. Only Nigeria, South Africa and Ghana had more poets included.

[750] L. Hughes (ed), *Poems from Black Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963.

[751] A. Lomax and R. Abdul (eds), *3000 Years of Black Poetry*. Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, 1971; W. Soyinka (ed), *Poems of Black Africa*. London: Heineman Educational Books, 1975; and O.R. Dathorne, *African Literature in the Twentieth Century*. London: Heinemann, 1975. According to a Portuguese news report, Malangatana was also featured in book of lusophone African writers that was published in Paris. Anon. "Malangatana expoe em Lisboa", *O Seculo Ilustrado* n.1785, 8 March 1972, p.79.

African poetry published by Heineman in 1964,[752] and was also excluded from a later anthology on Mozambican poetry that was published in East Germany, concurrent with his travelling retrospective.[753] Mixed reactions to his poetry were expressed in *The New African*, published in South Africa.[754]

Malangatana continued to publish poems sporadically, mostly in the context of his exhibition catalogues. In 1996 a book of his poetry was published in Lisbon by ISPA, who had earlier hosted a major retrospective of his works. The book was subsequently revised in a 2004 edition, with additional poems included, dating from 1961 to 2001.[755] A report on the publication of his book of poetry was published in the Mozambican weekly newspaper *Domingo*, and included two excerpts of his poems.[756] Notably, the poetry did not stand alone: the book was illustrated with new paintings; the Mozambican launch of his poetry book was accompanied by 30 of his visual art works; and a launch at ISPA was accompanied by a retrospective exhibition with 130 works.[757]

---

[752] J. Reed and C. Wake (eds), *A Book of African Verse*. London & Ibadan: Heineman Educational books [African Writers series], 1964.

[753] *Gedichte aus Mocambique*, referred to in Anon. "Colectanea de poesia Moçamibicana editada na RDA". Maputo: *Tempo*, n.478, 9 December 1979, pp.62-63.

[754] South African writer Richard Rive reviewed Malangatana's poetry favourably, and was then subjected to critique in the subsequent edition for having done so. R. Rive, "Mozambique Writing". Cape Town: *The New African*, 13 July 1963, pp.121-122.

[755] M. Ngwenya, *Vinte e Quatro Poemas*. Lisboa: Instituto Superior de Psicologia Aplicada, 1996; M. Ngwenya, *Vinte e Quatro Poemas e Outros Inéditos*. Lisboa: Instituto Superior de Psicologia Aplicada, 2004.

[756] F. Jamisse, "Malangatana para além da pintura". Maputo: *Domingo*, 28 March 2004, p.15.

[757] Ibid.

In Portugal, 2005, Malangatana's stature in the literary world was evidenced by an invitation to open an international gathering of Iberian writers that was convened to launch a Portuguese literature competition.[758] That he was of interest as both poet and painter is seen in the event which included an exhibition of illustrations for his poetry book, augmented by additional drawings and paintings.[759]

The above highlights that, with few exceptions, Malangatana's poetry was invariably linked to his painting. Malangatana himself said that his poetry deals with same ideas as his paintings.[760] Despite this, there have been few attempts to link the content of his poetry with his painting and vice versa.[761]

That there are poetic qualities to Malangatana's work is self-evident. His paintings dispense with didacticism in favour of the open and evocative. Beinart quotes Malangatana, "poetry is art written on white paper without colour and in repeated letters, but poetry in a picture has life, smell and movement also".[762] This statement reveals a poetic impulse at the root of

---

[758] Anon. [*Zambeze*], 17 February 2005, op.cit.

[759] The additional works are referred to as a retrospective exhibition. Ibid.

[760] Jamisse, 2004, op.cit.

[761] In one example, a Mozambican journalist comments on the ecstasy of images and sounds in Malangatana' paintings and poetry. See L. Macuacua, "Na pintura e poesia de Malangatana". Maputo: *Zambeze*, date not known, p.30.

[762] Beinart, 1962, op.cit. P.25. This quote was subsequently used by Beier, 1968, op.cit. Pp.65-66; and B. Schneider, "Malangatana of Mozambique", *African Arts*, v.5, n.2, 1972, p.40.

Malangatana's aesthetic. Indeed, poets are among Malangatana's most vociferous champions. Craveirinha sprang to the artist's defence in the colonial period, following negative criticism of the artist by colonial sources. Later Couto became one of Malangatana's major sources of validation.[763]

While it is clear that Malangatana's poetry was a source of considerable appreciation and acclaim, accounts of his achievements as singer, musician, dancer and actor are sketchy and often entangled.

In 1972 Schneider noted that "Malangatana is not only a painter and poet, but has a passionate interest in music. He plays the drum in a musical folklore group made up of a number of relatives and friends from his neighbourhood".[764] She described the artist playing music with others on his property.

Matusse referred to Malangatana as having been part of a broader artistic movement that featured actors and musicians, tied to his roots in Matalana. This artistic movement was described as being inclusive of theatre, music and dance, and the visual arts.[765] Navarro claimed that during his time in Nampula, Malangatana was active in taking theatre to the people, including shows in which he participated as an actor and musician.[766]

---

[763] M. Couto, "The Ingenuous Genius", originally published in the cultural supplement to the newspaper *O Diario*, 24 August 1986; and reproduced in full or in part in several catalogues. Couto and Malangatana have also collaborated on at least two children's books.

[764] Schneider, 1972, op.cit. P.40.

[765] Matusse op.cit. Pp.51-52.

[766] J.N. [Navarro], 8 June 1986, op.cit. P.51.

Of the performative roles for which he was lauded, it is as a singer that Malangatana is most frequently documented. Myriad sources provide brief accounts of largely spontaneous acts. According to a news report, Malangatana once sang "with" Abdullah Ibrahim. The jazz musician had composed a song for the inauguration of the artist's mural painted at the University of the Western Cape.[767] When he attended the Unesco General Conference as a representative of Mozambique and was asked to address the diplomats he "took the microphone and began to sing in a deep, almost operatic but untrained voice".[768] He sang a song from his youth at the launch of his poetry book at BCI, Maputo, 2004.[769] He sang and danced at the launch of a writing competition in Portugal.[770] At the unveiling of his public sculpture in Barreiro, Portugal, Malangatana occasioned a "big night of Mozambican culture", which he contributed to by singing and dancing.[771] He also sang when he was awarded an honorary doctorate in Portugal.[772]

---

[767] Navarro, 1994, op.cit. P.16. In the news report Ibrahim is referred to as Dollar Brand.

[768] D. Adams, "African Notes: Malangatana, 1992-1997". Online: *Culture of Peace*, http://www.culture-of-peace.info/history/malangatana.html

[769] Matlhombe op.cit.

[770] Anon. [*Zambeze*], 17 February 2005, op.cit.

[771] Anon. [*Verdade*], op.cit. Pp.15-16 (my translation). For video footage of Malangatana's singing at this event see "Malangatana o cantor", posted by L. Ferreira da Luz, 14 September 2009, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J8fyZOrxTAw

[772] Malangatana, in full doctoral regalia, is shown singing before the ceremony. Anon. "Portugal: Malangatana recebe doutoramento honoris causa", *Mozindico Blogspot*, online, http://mozindico.blogspot.com/2010/02/portugal-malangatana-recebe.html

On occasion, commentators detected the presence of different artistic forms in Malangatana's paintings. Schneider noted the poetic qualities of many of his titles,[773] whilst Matusse pointed out that: "His works are always a tale and song, and a narrative of all those histories of an oral tradition, already grey from antiquity."[774] Couto positioned Malangatana as a storyteller, highlighting the interdisciplinary character of that craft.[775]

The association of Malangatana with multiple art forms played a significant role in enriching his cultural capital. It established him as more than just a visual artist. However, his transformation into a cultural symbol required more than artistic prowess. Malangatana's potency as a cultural symbol was not only based on his achievements as a painter or 'total artist'. It is premised on the idea that his work represents Mozambican culture. This idea is entangled with the perspective that his identity was rooted in Mozambican culture. Here the cultural capital of his identity as a performing artist begins to take shape. 'Performing' in public did more than express his personality, it brought him 'closer to the people'. This was achieved through direct engagement as well as allusion to traditional cultural forms,

[773] Schneider, 1972, op.cit. P.40.

[774] Matusse op.cit. P.53 (my translation).

[775] "He is undoubtedly an heir of traditional story-tellers of this part of Africa. Story-tellers do more than narrate old legends, though. They recreate them, exploiting the entire expressive potential of their bodies, their voices. They are actors, singers. dancers. A story requires the narrator to assume all these roles." Couto, 1989, op.cit. P.12.

thereby affirming the popular character of his creative output.

4.4.3 Rooted in culture

For the artist, visual and total, to demonstrate that he was rooted in Mozambican culture, a number of positions needed to be articulated.

i) *To demonstrate cultural capital, it was necessary to affirm that the artist's consciousness was a product of indigenous culture, and that he was in touch with ordinary people.*

Asked about his childhood, the artist stressed that his upbringing was the same as that of other children.[776] In 2006, in honouring the artist, President Guebuza went into graphic detail to locate Malangatana's formative socialisation in his rural upbringing in Matalana.[777] It was this unsevered umbilical cord that affirmed his identity as an 'ordinary' citizen.

ii) *To enhance cultural capital, it was necessary to affirm that the artist stimulated, supported or invested in rural culture.*

Many of Malangatana's biographies refer to his role in re-opening the school in Matalana; in establishing a

[776] Matusse op.cit. Pp.47-48.

[777] Guebuza provides a very vivid account of Malangatana's rural roots. A.E. Guebuza, "Malangatana: Um filho prodigoso que Matalana gerou", in Caldeira and André op.cit. Pp.5-8. Guebuza's speech was reported by Jamisse, 2006, op.cit.

health centre based in his house; and his ongoing involvement in local cultural activities.[778] Examples date back to the 1960s, although Malangatana's investment in Matalana was not confined to the early years. Throughout his career he planned to develop Matalana. In the latter part of his life many of his plans were crystalised into concrete projects. In introducing plans to honour the artist on the occasion of his 70th birthday, Lourenço do Rosario (rector of the Instituto Superior Politécnico e Universitário and a prominent member of the Friends of Malangatana, a network of influential supporters), expressed the view that the celebration of Malangatana's 70th birthday was an opportunity to exalt the stature of the country through completion of various projects associated with the artist. These projects, all based in the artist's home village, comprised the building of an auditorium at Matalana, and the establishment of the Malangatana Foundation and the Malangatana house museum.[779]

iii) *Cultural capital required affirmations that his art was of the people, and reflected the lived realities of Mozambicans*.

Navarro quoted from Craveirinha, writing in *Noticias da Beira* on 1 January 1971, in response to critics of Malangatana,[780] where Craveirinha positioned Malangatana within his culture, stressing that his art should not be measured against Eurocentric values. Navarro maintained that the diversity of Malangatana's output "always affirms the same reality: its permanent roots in the

[778] Matusse op.cit. Pp.51-52.

[779] Anon. [*Zambeze*], 31 March 2005, op.cit.

[780] J.N. [Navarro], 18 May 1986, op.cit. P.49.

culture of the people."[781] Malangatana himself, speaking of the urban, underground network in the anti/colonial period, claimed that: "We affirmed the past and the cultural tradition of our peoples against the colonial present, and we made this our principal weapon of struggle."[782]

While Malangatana's art is regularly positioned emphatically within the imaginary of an authentic Mozambican culture, and anchored to the cultural sign "Matalana",[783] attempts to elaborate this argument by way of detailed discussion of specific examples of work are largely absent in the literature. Rather, one finds generalised statements that speak to the totality of his art, or simplify the content of Malangatana's art, presenting his works as a form of social realism. For instance, in announcing an exhibition of "representative works" in Maputo, curated to honour the artist's 70th birthday, it was claimed that the works portray "the social life of the Mozambican people in different stages from colonial times to the present."[784] A report on a mural noted that it featured mystical scenes and scenes of Mozambican life.[785] If the subjects are this apparent, why didn't writers elaborate on the content of his paintings? As will become evident in the chapter on aesthetics, interpretation of Malangatana's paintings is

[781] J.N. [Navarro], 4 May 1986, op.cit. P.52 (my translation).

[782] Anon. [*Indico*] op.cit. P.30.

[783] An idea captured in the title of an essay by Frederico Pereira. F. Pereira, "Speaking of Malangatana: Hearing echoes of Matalana", in Navarro, 2003, op.cit. Pp.15-22.

[784] R. Jossai, "Nas celebrações do seu 70[th] aniversario natalício". Maputo: *Domingo*, 11 June 2006 (my translation).

[785] Anon. [*Noticias*], 12 September 1991, op.cit.

a complex matter. Rigorous analysis of single works is scarce. General statements have prevailled in the absence of detailed discussion of content.

Francisco Bronze, a Portuguese critic, departed from the idea that a social realism was at play. He did this by articulating an existential rather than a quotidianal reality. Furthermore, he attempted to map a relationship between local, ethnic identity and national culture, as well as between ethnic culture and (transnational) black culture:

> *"In Malangatana there is also a serious consciousness of the problems facing his people … An awareness of reality and suffering of the most profound nature … The conscience of the painter identifies with the suffering and with the soul of a people, his paintings begin to take on the voice of a race … With the artist immersed profoundly in the people, it is evident that Malangatana is not only speaking to us of ronga and changane mythology – he also speaks to us (and principally so) of the reality of that moment of the ronga and changane peoples, of the reality of the Mozambican people. Of the oppression he was subjected to and the struggle against it of which he was engaged in."*[786]

In neglecting to substantiate these claims, Bronze joins those who affirm the cultural character of Malangatana's work, but do little to support or elaborate on this proposition.

[786] Bronze, quoted in J.N. [Navarro], 1 June 1986 op.cit. P.47 (my translation).

iv) *Cultural capital requires evidence that the artist has particular insights and knowledge, specifically of indigenous culture*.

Statements that Malangatana had a profound knowledge of indigenous culture are common.[787] Sopa details the child Malalangatana's ability to negotiate the dangers of a rural setting, citing his ability to smell the proximity of hippos in the river and that he could "speak to 'Nyongonyana', an enormous snake which lived in the small port where they moored the canoes."[788] A frequent assertion has been that the artist portrayed mythological themes that are rooted in indigenous folklore. Within this interpretation, the singular iconographic element that has been foregrounded is that of the *curandeiro* (traditional healer).

Malangatana himself characterised his early works as primarily influenced by local mythologies, an interest he located within his early childhood. According to him these themes arose from:

> *"the reality of where I grew up. The stories that I was told by my aunt and mother when I grew up. Also the healers (curandeiros) and the rituals of the socio-cultural life around me is what makes it so: the people of Matalane."*[789]

---

[787] F. Manjate, "Malangatana é conhecedor profunda da sua cultura". Maputo: *Noticias*, 17 June 2005, p.19. The title of the article comes from a statement by Julieta Massimbe, then the director of the National Museum of Art, Maputo.

[788] Sopa, 2011, op.cit. P.25.

[789] Matusse op.cit. P.49 (my translation).

There needs to be further research to identify the stories that acted as sources, and to relate them to individual works. Without this, what remains are generalised statements that reveal little of the content of individual works. In a rare example, in 1970 when the artist had apparently shifted his focus from mythological to more overtly political concerns, Malangatana acknowledged the use of a local legend of an evil tree destroyed by the gods as a reference for a public commission in Beira.[790] The triptych *The Story of the Letter in the Hat* (1960) is a comparatively well-known example where a local story informed a painting. It is also unusual in that the story is repeatedly relayed in relation to the painting.[791] The narrative is of love and betrayal. The origins of the story are said to have originated in Matalana, but whether this fact alone warrants consideration as 'indigenous knowledge' is less clear. One can also observe that the work is atypical: it is a rare example of a triptych by the artist. The sequential panels enable the narration of a story. In contrast, most of Malangatana's paintings are single formats. If there are stories to unravel, they do not follow sequentially from one point to another.

---

[790] Mamede op.cit. P.9. This was the artist's first visit to Beira, an observation which suggests that he was deliberately looking for local sources in order to communicate to a new audience. Anon. "Malangatana: Encontra-se na Beira para realizar um painel no edifício do Auditório-Galeria de Arte". Beira: *Voz Africana*, 9 May 1970, p.2.

[791] Malangatana provided a written account of the narrative in this triptych, which was initially incorporated into Beinart, 1962, op.cit.; and subsequently reprinted in several publications, including Guedes' essay in Navarro, 2003, op.cit. Pp.11-12.

The artist credited his mother for introducing him to indigenous forms of creativity.[792] Some early works appear to feature indigenous objects and visual culture, but the extent to which these sources influenced the artist's aesthetic is uncertain, and requires further investigation.

Malangatana's position as an 'insider' of Mozambican culture, coupled with his purported knowledge of indigenous knowledge and systems finds expression in the view of the artist as anthropologist.[793] In 1972, Afonso Cautela argued in *O Seculo* that Malangatana's art provided:

> *"an anthropological perspective, not just an aesthetic one" … to investigate Malangatana's art … is to fathom the spiritual significance of a people, of a mythology, of its own authentic ethnic existence."*[794]

Lending credence to the idea of Malangatana as an anthropologist, Navarro informs us that during his time

---

[792] "My mother, like my father who made mats, had some abilities. She tattooed the bodies of many youths, a ritual with aesthetic value at that time. She sharpened people's teeth and worked with glass beads. She was able to embellish a complete calabash with only beads, making beautiful objects of art. She influenced me. [The naming of my gallery after my mother] is a tribute for that reason." Matusse op.cit. P.54 (my translation). For an earlier account of his mother's creativity see Beinart, 1962, op.cit. P.23.

[793] A view expressed emphatically to me by Malangatana's close associate Lindo Hlongo. Interview, Maputo, 13 October 2011. See also Forjaz op.cit. P.16.

[794] Cautela, quoted in Anon. [Navarro], 25 May 1986, op.cit. P.53 (my translation).

in Nampula, Malangatana was engaged in anthropological work.[795] Later, Malangatana dreamed of establishing a "rural university of cultural anthropology" at Matalana.[796] Malangatana lamented the absence of anthropological perspectives in the interpretation of his paintings.[797] The extent to which Malangatana's art represents systematic or thorough research and analysis of cultural practices and systems meriting his description as an anthropologist, or whether his characterisation as an anthropologist represents a variation of the established practice of elevating the artist's stature by conferring on him titles, remains unclear.

v) *Claiming cultural capital requires affirmations or validations of his impact on Mozambican art and culture*.

Evidence of Malangatana's influence on Mozambican art is abundant. As demonstrated earlier, he is commonly used as an entry point for Mozambican art. His name became conflated, if not synonymous with the identity of Mozambican art, and indeed, Mozambique itself. He spawned countless imitators. The influence of his aesthetic can be found everywhere, in galleries and on the streets. This recognition of his impact on national culture is evident in a passage from a speech given by the vice-

[795] J.N. [Navarro], 8 June 1986, op.cit. P.51.

[796] Jamisse, 2006, op.cit. (My translation)

[797] Serra op.cit. Pp.35-37. Interestingly, an early Mozambican account of Malangatana's art stressed his importance by distancing him from the "touristic, folkloric or regional". G. Manuel, "O Artísta Repete-se: Malangatana". Lourenço Marques: *O Brado Africano*, 6 January 1968, p.7.

minister of Education and Culture, on the occasion of the launch of an initiative to honour the artist:

> *"The initiative will be a moment to, once again, recognise the importance of the painter in the process of constructing the nation and Mozambican identity … to pay homage to Malangatana is to pay homage to culture, to the plastic arts, and particularly to recognise that our master has achieved the dimension of national symbol. Also, that the history of the painter is an affirmation of Mozambican identity. His name is part of Mozambican history."*[798]

The reference to "once again" can be read as an acknowledgment that Malangatana's contribution to Mozambican culture had been recognised previously. Navarro, under the subheading "Contribution towards Mozambican culture" concludes his series of articles on Malangatana with the statement that:

> *"[Navarro's] series of quotations of some critics highlights and records … demonstrate well Malangatana's contribution to Mozambican culture, we can recall that this fact was fully recognised in 1983 when he was awarded the medal of Nachingwea for this reason."*[799]

This recognition of Malangatana's contribution to Mozambican culture was reiterated when he was bestowed

---

[798] F. Manjate, 25 March 2005, op.cit. (my translation, emphasis added).

[799] J.N. [Navarro], 15 June 1986, op.cit. P.53 (my translation). The date is given as 1984 by Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.51.

with the Order of Eduardo Mondlane in 2006,[800] and an Honorary Doctorate from ISPU in 2007.[801]

vi) *Claiming cultural capital requires evidence of the artist's ability to represent Mozambican culture and interests internationally*.

The notion that Malangatana frequently 'represents' or embodied Mozambican art and culture[802] was a small step towards his unofficial designation as an 'ambassador'. The idea of Malangatana as a cultural ambassador gained currency around the time of his first retrospective in 1986. Navarro highlighted the artist's international role in providing correct information about his country, noting that:

> *"Because Malangatana becomes a type of artistic ambassador for Mozambique … a major part of the attention from the media was not in the form of critiques but rather interviews, as they wanted to know what the Mozambican artist had to say about his*

[800] Anon. "Ãos 70 Anos de Idade: Ordem Eduardo Mondlane para Malangatana Ngwenya". Maputo: *Noticias,* 7 June 2006, p.1. Also, Jossai op.cit.

[801] Machava, op.cit.; Senda, op.cit.; Filipe, op.cit.; Anon. [*TVZine]*, op.cit.

[802] In announcing plans for the 1986 retrospective, Paulo Soares reminded Mozambicans that: "As [Eugênio] Lemos [director of the National Museum] says, this is not only an exhibition of plastic arts. It's to show the power and importance which our Culture can achieve." See P.S. "Exposição - retrospectiva de homenagen a Malangatana". Maputo: *Tempo*, n.802, 23 February 1986, pp.3-4 (my translation, Culture capitalised in original).

art, his people, about Mozambique. And Malangatana would dispense many false conceits"[803]

In 1988 Schneider maintained that Malangatana "travelled as an artistic ambassador to many countries."[804] In 1989 a Mozambican journalist described the artist as "one of the country's most authentic ambassadors."[805] And later, Navarro claimed that the artist was one of the main cultural ambassadors for Mozambique.[806]

Couto, who frequently refers to the artist as an ambassador, elaborated:

> *"When war wrought havoc on our country, his travelling hand showed the world that the capacity to dream was still alive. That our value lay not in the dimension of our tragedy but in our ability to produce art and culture. Malangatana's work and voice travelled throughout the world, showing that there was still hope, that there was an African nation which wanted not only to receive but had something to give — its contribution to culture."*[807]

Similarly, President Guebuza stated that:

> *"as an artist Malangatana contributed to bridge knowledge between men and different cultures, from villages and distant continents, revealing the*

[803] J.N. [Navarro], 15 June 1986, op.cit. P.52 (my translation).

[804] Schneider, 1988, op.cit. P.58.

[805] Anon. [*Indico*] op.cit. P.32.

[806] Navarro, 1994, op.cit. P.16.

[807] Couto, 1989, op.cit. P.13.

culture of the Mozambican and African people after centuries of colonial exploration."[808]

Malangatana's role in building relations between postcolonial Mozambique and post-Salazar, democratic Portugal is significant. The artist enjoyed close relations with former (Portuguese) President Mário Soares who, like Malangatana, was imprisoned by the notorious security police (PIDE). For Socialists in Portugal, the anti-colonial struggle in Mozambique is bound up with their own struggle against fascism in Portugal. Honouring Malangatana provides occasion to affirm that historic link, and to build relationships among the postcolonial Portuguese and Mozambican political elite. This becomes evident when one takes into account the numerous solo exhibitions held by Malangatana in Portugal, and the high proportion of which were supported by the Portuguese and Mozambican government, by Portuguese universities, and the Soares Foundation. When Malangatana passed away in Portugal, it was Soares who presided over an all-night vigil held at *Mosteiro dos Jerónimos* (Jerónimos Monastery), where Portuguese kings, saints, and national heroes are buried.[809]

---

[808] Jossai op.cit. (My translation, the original term used for "bridge" was *aproximar*.

[809] One can also note the artist's friendship with Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa, a future President of Portugal. Rebelo de Sousa is the son of the former Mozambican Governor Baltazar Rebelo de Sousa, an old friend of the artist. Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa played a prominent role in the ceremony where Malangatana was awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Evora, and contributed a short text to the catalogue of the artist's retrospective organised to coincide with this event. Rebelo de Sousa et al. Op.cit. P.12. Rebelo de Sousa spoke of Malangatana's symbolic role as representative of the new Mozambique and postcolonial lusophonic relations. This was reprinted

The artist's role in building bridges between Mozambique and Portugal received official comment. At the unveiling of his public sculpture *À Paz e à Amizade*[810] in Barreiro, the Mozambican ambassador in Portugal read a message from his President. This stated that Mozambique was proud of the artist for working hard to make such an important work of art, one that reduced the distance between Mozambique and Portugal.[811] Significantly, Mozambican reportage on this event in Portugal emphasised that it was Mozambique that inaugurated this major work by Malangatana.[812] At the ceremonial unveiling of the sculpture, the Portuguese Minister of Culture, who was born in Mozambique, elaborated on language and history as bond.[813]

The symbolic capital of Malangatana as a lusophone poet becomes clearer, explaining, in part, why his poetry is particularly appreciated in Portugal. His love of the language carries with it a message of reconciliation and hope for a future in which the 'special relationship' between the former coloniser and colonised is embodied. Speaking in Macau, during a programme celebrating lusophone identity, the artist evoked Fernando Pessoa's

---

in Rebelo de Sousa, op.cit. Later, shortly after his election as President, Rebelo de Sousa spoke of his friendship wth Malangatana as part of establishing his own close links to Mozambique. L. Albuquerque and V. Gonçalves, "Marcelo: 'Moçambique é a minha segunda pátria'". Online: *Jornal i,* 2 May 2016, https://ionline.sapo.pt/509385

[810] Translates as 'To Peace and Friendship'.

[811] Anon. [*Verdade*], op.cit. P.15 (my translation). See also S.P. "Malangatana: 'A minha relação com o Barreiro é uma relação de amizade'". Barreiro: *Rostos*, August 2009, p.6.

[812] Anon. [*Verdade*], op.cit. P.15.

[813] Ibid. P.16.

dictum that your country is your language.[814] A utopian postcolonial lusophone nation is imagined by a former colonial subject, his appropriation of the coloniser's language acting to redefine relations with the former metropole.

Malangatana being awarded an Honorary Doctorate, University of Evora, 2010.
Source: artbarreiro.com

4.5 Universal artist and global citizen

Various ways in which Malangatana came to 'represent' Mozambican art, culture and history have been outlined. These strands converged to consolidate his position as a national symbol. But Malangatana was not only a

[814] J.C. Reis. "Malangatana em Macau: Reflexos de uma exposição". *Revista da Cultura*, 1996, p.250. Online: https://blogs.sapo.pt/cloud/file/21d38da7521f27cbd70ea0ecf7a4093a/balcaodacantina/2014/Malangatana%20Artigo%20Revista%20de%20Macau%20%281%29.pdf

Mozambican artist and icon, he was an artist in the world of art and a citizen of the world at large. His status as global artist and citizen, in turn, reinforced his position as a national symbol. The final section in this chapter examines the idea of Malangatana as a universal artist, and specifically how this view supports his elevation into a national icon.

The positioning of Malangatana as a universal artist was prominent at two stages in his career. It first appeared in the very early years when some writers commented on his art as transcending local culture. It reappeared in his latter years, when his status as 'global patrimony' was communicated to the broad Mozambican public.

4.5.1 From Matalana and Mozambique to Africa and the World

Malangatana's 70th birthday was an auspicious occasion. President Guebuza bestowed on the artist the Order of Eduardo Mondlane, first class. This is an award that valorises the contributions of outstanding individuals in the fields of education, culture, natural sciences and sports. Significantly, the ceremony took place in Matalana, Malangatana's home village and the site of many of his ambitious projects. In his speech, the Mozambican Head of State described Malangatana as a man of the world, one who no longer belonged only to Matalana or to Mozambique. According to the President, "Malangatana belongs to Africa, to all the people of the world and his art is the Patrimony of Humanity."[815] The President made

[815] Jamisse, 2006, op.cit. P.14 (original emphasis, my translation).

similar remarks the following year, when Malangatana was awarded an Honorary Doctorate by ISPU.[816]

Guebeza's account of Malangatana as global patrimony was preceded by the remarks of Luís Covane, deputy minister of Education & Culture. In 2005 Covane located Malangatana's works in the realm of the universal. According to Covane, Malangatana was not only important for Mozambicans and Africans, the artist was a figure of Humanity.[817] Covane's remarks were made to launch a campaign to honour the artist. Speaking on behalf of The Friends of Malangatana, Lourenço do Rosario asserted that the national and international stature and dimension of Malangatana justified his 70th birthday being celebrated within and outside the country. Do Rosario announced that a number of prestigious events were planned for Portugal. In retrospect, one can observe that these activities culminated in the award of an Honorary Doctorate at the University of Evora. This event preceded the artist receiving an honorary doctorate in Mozambique. The international nature of this campaign (and Portugal often functions for Mozambicans as a signifier for the international) underlined forcefully the position that Malangatana was not only of Mozambican interest.[818]

In the months following Malangatana's death (2011), do Rosario reflected on the motivation for this campaign. It was motivated by concern that Mozambique's national

---

[816] Anon. [*TVZine*] op.cit. This narrative became normative. See F. Meigos "Malangatana, o Ngwenya: De Matalana pro resto do mundo", in Rebelo de Sousa et al. Op.cit. P.13.

[817] F. Manjate, 25 March 2005, op.cit. (Original emphasis, my translation)

[818] Anon. [*Zambeze*], 31 March 2005, op.cit.

cultural icons were usually only recognised posthumously, or, as with Craveirinha, when they were terminally ill.[819] Do Rosario acknowledged that the gaining of support from senior government officials was critical in ensuring the success of this campaign.[820]

The recognition of the artist as 'universal' did not however begin with the Friends of Malangatana. It is there in early accounts of the artist, that began with Guedes, but became associated with international writers. Post-independence, when the emphasis fell on locating artistic practice as part of the national revolution, promoting a universalist discourse would have been read as covert Eurocentrism. What the Friends did was to reintroduce this discourse in the post-revolutionary context, with the express intention of acclaiming and honouring the artist as a national icon.

4.5.2 Probing the collective unconscious

The earliest reference to Malangatana as an artist of major significance is to be found in Guedes' essay for Malangatana's inaugural solo exhibition.[821] Guedes wrote that the artist displayed a "profound subconscious".[822] His interpretation reflects the influence of psycho-

[819] Do Rosario lamented the lack of recognition given by Mozambique to its major cultural icons. L. do Rosario. "Onde está Malangatana?" *Proler* op.cit. P.43.

[820] Ibid.

[821] Guedes, who termed his essay "The Complete Painter", claimed that Malalangatana was "already one of the greatest African painters". Anon. [A.F.] op.cit.

[822] In the original, "Malangatana tem um conhecimento profundo das razões subterráneas dos homens…" Ibid.

analysis on art, specifically Jung's theories of the collective unconscious, filtered through the surrealism of André Breton (1896-1966). These ideas were shared among the influential brokers in Guedes' 'circle', such as Beier,[823] Beinart and McEwen,[824] and inform much of the early writing on Malangatana. In an early review, published in Nigeria, we read that "it's the vision of a man perturbed and tormented subconsciously."[825]

Guedes presented Malangatana as an artist in touch with "spirits", a point that would imply his connection to Ronga or African culture, but he also drew analogies with the Flemish painter Hieronymous Bosch (c.1450-1516).[826] Guedes' analysis is instructive in articulating a duality expressed by, on one hand, the artist's access to an essentially African, esoteric knowledge, and, simultaneously, his capacity to communicate at a universal level (in so far as western culture is hegemonic and embraced as international or universal). The common ground between 'spirits' and Bosch is that of a pre-industrial imaginary populated by menacing forces,

---

[823] Beier distinguished between the "reality" expressed by Malangatana's subconscious and "the intellectual games of western surrealists". Beier, 1962, op.cit.

[824] McEwen was interested in the link between art and the unconscious. Through his work promoting Shona stone sculpture, McEwen attempted to bridge supposedly deep excavations into local traditions with notions of archetypes, symbols and the collective unconscious. For a view of how McEwen applied Western avant-garde thinking to African art, see C. Pearce, "The Myth of 'Shona Sculpture'". University of Zimbabwe: *Zambezia* v.20 n.2, 1993, pp.85-107.

[825] Anon. [Navarro], 11 May 1986, op.cit. P.53 (my translation).

[826] See Guedes quoted in J.N. [Navarro], 4 May 1986, op.cit. Pp.52-53. Later, Malangatana acknowledged his admiration of Bosch, whose work he saw in Lisbon in 1971. Vieira op.cit. P.41.

ruled by emotions and superstition. Beier described the artist as "a visionary, not a mere story teller. He takes us into a world of horror and suffering and fear. A world in which man's life is dominated by love and jealousy, by witchcraft and torture, by anxiety and perversion."[827] Beier also picks up on the analogy with Bosch,[828] but mostly, and perhaps not surprisingly, it is the affinities with Surrealism (which Guedes described as "involuntary")[829] with its emphasis on the subconscious, that is most frequently referenced.[830]

Surrealism aside, several critics, mostly Portuguese, introduced other art historical referents from the Western canon, and attempted to reconcile these with the African autodidact. In an interview from around the time that the Gulbenkian offered Malangatana a scholarship, the writer claimed that many believed Malangatana to be inspired by the poetic aesthetic of Marc Chagall (1887-1985), "albeit with predominantly African characteristics."[831] Rui Mário Gonçalves reached further back to Realism, which he adapted to accommodate what he termed "African fantastic realism", a theoretical

[827] Beier, 1968, op.cit. Pp.71-72.

[828] According to Beier: "[Malangatana's] witchcraft pictures are as powerful and as moving as Hieronymous Bosch." Ibid. P.66. On the other hand, Vogel, as late as 1991, implied that Malangatana's exposure to western museums led him to introduce elements he observed in Bosch's paintings. She claimed that: "Having seen Hieronymus Bosch beasts akin to those he has painted for years, he adds their froglike bodies to the other monsters in his paintings…" Vogel op.cit. P.185.

[829] Anon. [A.F.] op.cit.

[830] Malangatana himself, in 1970, professed to have been bewildered by discussions within Guedes' circle about the surrealist qualities of his art. Mamede op.cit. P.8.

[831] Anon. [*Facho Sonap*], op.cit.

proposition he applied in his efforts to analyse Malangatana.[832] This construct was subsequently used by another Portuguese writer, Cartacho Trinidade.[833] Yet another Portuguese critic, Eurico Gonçalves, dropped the "African" in place of the idea of 'popular art', and brought in Expressionism, framing Malangatana as "the fantastic expressionism of a popular painter."[834] The use of terms associated with Western Art movements along with references to artists in the Western canon must be understood at two levels. One, as western ethnocentrism, the inability to engage with art produced outside of the western art world without applying western constructs and using western terminology. But also, as a response to an intuitive assessment that something of common value was being articulated.[835]

In an early review, published in Nigeria, it is said of Malangatana that: "What he paints is a part of life, of

---

[832] R.M. Gonçalves, 1973, op.cit. This text was revised for Malangatana's retrospective exhibition (1986, Musart publication). Gonçalves' influence on writing on Malangatana is evident in the number of publications that reproduce sections of his text. These include: J.N. [Navarro], 1 June 1986, op.cit. Pp.46-47; Bilang op.cit. P.9; Carvalho et al. Op.cit. P.143; and Navarro, 2003, op.cit. P.205.

[833] J.N. [Navarro], 1 June 1986, op.cit. P.46. As noted earlier (FN 737) Navarro erroneously identifies the writer as "Cartaxo e Trinidade".

[834] E. Gonçalves, "Malangatana, the Fantastic Expressionism of a Popular Painter". Lisboa: *A Republica*, 26 July 1973.

[835] In 1989 the artist reflected on his bewhildered response to the array of western art historical comparisons that he was subjected to in his early years, noting that he subsequently came to see the value of some of these. Anon. [Indico] op.cit. P.22.

our lives, but that which we do not begin to admit to."[836] This idea, that the artist has access to, and can express something deeply profound and of universal significance is implicit in comments that he portrays the "bitter truth",[837] and that he essentialises themes.[838]

With few exceptions, the "bitter truth" and "anxiety" that underscores the "horror" in Malangatana's art was seldom concretised within a colonial context in early writing on the artist. The "torture" and "suffering" was not linked to political oppression. If any sense of geo-historical context can be located, it was in situating the source of this "perversity" in the realm of the (African) pre-colonial imaginary, populated by witches and monsters, such as when Beier asserted that:

> *"The gods and myths of his people are no longer known to him and they never feature in his work. As among many Africans of his level of education,*

---

[836] *Morning Post,* 1962. Quoted by Anon. [Navarro], 11 May 1986, op.cit. Pp.52-53 (emphasis added).

[837] Navarro quoting from "Cartaxo e Trinidade" [see note 737]:"These new oils represent more than everyday madness or rage, tenderness, the rut of despair and of hope. He travels through these, not only through shouting colours but also through portraying the bitter truth…" J.N. [Navarro], 1 June 1986, op.cit. P.46.

[838] Navarro quotes R.M. Gonçalves: "Whoever knows Malangatana's paintings recognises in his drawings his vision, but also discovers the spirit of decision in the definition of forms, in the choice of motifs, in the register of emotions, the essentialisation of themes. Discovers all this in the elevated state of purity 'where the greatest feelings are the greatest thoughts' (Garcia Lorca)…" Navarro says this was from preface in catalogue for a solo exhibition at Buccholz, but this is not in the 1973 catalogue, suggesting that another Buccholz catalogue may exist. J.N. [Navarro], 1 June 1986, op.cit. P.46 (my translation).

> *however, they continue to figure in his imagination as an unknown quantity, as a complex of fears and an impenetrable world of demons, spirits and witches, which – being a Christian – he has not learned to master".*[839]

Beier argued that Malangatana, despite "being a Christian", was not able to sever ties to the cultural beliefs of "his people". An intuitive, subconscious link is implied here, that to refer to Guedes, Malangatana "knows without knowing", which is consistent with the framing of the artist as autodidact. A chasm is implied between the African occult and the Western Church, with Malangatana positioned as straddling these worlds. In earlier writing Beier placed Malangatana at the interstice between a lost traditional world and a nascent modernity.[840]

These formulations by Beier imply that any universal articulated by the artist is a consequence of this tension between two worlds. Rui Mário Gonçalves was perhaps more explicit on this point of how Malangatana communicated in universal terms. Gonçalves saw the cross cultural references in Malangatana's works as evidence that "we search for universal qualities in place of the particularities of small groups."[841] If the *curandeiro/*

---

[839] Beier, 1968, op.cit. P.66 (emphasis added).

[840] Beier remarks that "works such as Malangatana's are not vulgar in Africa. Traditional cultures were almost totally destroyed and the moderns have not yet emerged (*não estão assentes*)…" Anon. "Considero Malangatana um dos Grandes Artistas de África – disse-nos o editor da revista artística 'Black Orpheus', Dr. Ulli Beier". Lourenço Marques: Noticias, 6 May 1961 (my translation).

[841] R.M. Gonçalves, "Um olhar sobre Malangatana". Buenos Aires: *Cadernos do Terceiro Mundo*, n.58, November 1983, p.78.

feiteceiro wearing a crucifix provides one example of this, Gonçalves also detected a universal quality arising from the artist's visual language, where indigenous objects are rendered as a "synthesis or confrontation between graphics *(grafismos)* of the individual or collective orders." In other words, Gonçalves underplayed the significance of the artist's rendering of indigenous objects as ethnographic 'archive' or tribal 'anthropology' in favour of the 'collective order'. Further, he emphasised the creative licence taken in re-presenting these objects. This notion of the 'individual order' concurs with Western notions of the artist as unbounded by ethnicity, as a creative force driven by personal agency in the quest for a unique style or visual language.[842]

Occassionally, the question of Malangatana as an artist, concerned with the formal qualities of his work is addressed. In 1998, in response to a question regarding the completion of a work is finished, he spoke of the qualities of the paint, and asserted that colour could express content independently of figurative content.[843] In 1970, asked who he made art for, the artist acknowledged a growing awareness that art is a universal language.[844] This 'universal language' operates at both formal and

---

Earlier Gonçalves articulated a similar proposition. See R.M. Gonçalves, 1973, op.cit.

[842] Gonçalves comments that: "[There are works] which include signs of local decorative arts which are *not less interesting* through synthesis or confrontation between graphics *(grafismos)* of the individual or collective orders." See R.M. Gonçalves, 1983, op.cit. P.78 [my translation, emphasis added).

[843] S. Homen, "Malangatana: O artista das confusoes". Lisboa: *Africa Hoje*, September 1998 (my translation).

[844] Mamede op.cit. P.8.

thematic levels. In 1986, asked about the subject or theme of his paintings, the artist replied that "I paint Man, Man and his problems, his life of struggle or of joy."[845] He emphasised themes of global concern, whilst acknowledging the need to connect with one's environment, stating that: "Paintings should reflect problems of love, of war. Paintings should register that which surrounds us."[846]

These quotes from Malangatana span three decades. They support the idea of the artist as concerned with universal themes, as well as with the act of painting itself. But this is not to deny his awareness of himself within very concrete circumstances, as intimated by the idea that: "Paintings should register that which surrounds us." Pushed to elaborate on the relationship between the local and international, the artist responded that:

> *"My country is always the point of departure for whatever tentative universality. I am not contained within a limited territory with a border-line nor am I narrow minded. I am part of the world, but in a concrete space: Mozambique."*[847]

Malangatana's own formulation of his positioning of himself as an artist affirms his own experience as a Mozambican. It is telling though that he articulated his central themes as universal ones, informed but unbounded by national borders.

---

[845] Matusse op.cit. P.49 (my translation).

[846] Ibid. Pp.52-53 (my translation).

[847] Ibid. P.50 (my translation).

4.5.3 The global Giant

If the artist's themes, along with his self-awareness of his visual language, bring to the fore the idea of his work as universal, this notion is complemented by the perception of the artist as a major figure in the global art world.

There are several ways in which Malangatana's international stature has been communicated. The first of these has been through general statements asserting the global stature of the artist.

Malangatana's nascent career was accompanied by statements of greatness by Guedes and Beier, remarks more prophetic than a reflection of actual international achievements. Following news of Malangatana's Gulbenkian award elements within the Mozambican press boldly claimed his international recognition as a major artist.[848] In the late colonial period, the Mozambican public was informed that Malangatana had "become one of the most discussed painters in almost the whole world."[849] This aggrandising language declined after independence. It was only after the collapse of the post-independence revolutionary programme that notions of individual genius resumed a place in national discourse. This shift took place at the time of Malangatana's first retrospective exhibition. In announcing plans for this milestone, the commission organising the exhibition described Malangatana as "a great Mozambican artist, a great African artist, and a great artist at the international level. He is recognised

[848] Anon. [*Brado Africano*], 17 October 1970, op.cit.; Anon. [*Facho Sonap*] op.cit.

[849] Serra op.cit. P.35 (my translation).

as such throughout the World of Art".[850] In the same year, as part of the campaign to popularise Malangatana's retrospective, Navarro devoted one of his eight articles to making the point that the artist was among the world's most respected visual artists.[851] Similarly, in announcing the 1994 exhibit at the Centro de Estudos Brasileiros, the artist's first individual show in Mozambique since his retrospective in 1986, the Mozambican public was assured that the artist is "world renowned".[852]

In contrast, consider this sober evaluation from the Los Angeles Times in 1988: "A few African painters already have gained *some* international recognition. Among them are Twins Seven Seven in Nigeria, Skunder Boghossian in Ethiopia and Malangatana Valente Ngwenya in Mozambique."[853] This statement is perhaps a more accurate reflection of Malangatana's position in international art. It is a comparatively recent development for African artists to be represented in the institutions that, by and large, are considered to be at the heart of what the commission for his retrospective called "the World of

---

[850] P.S [Paulo Soares], "Exposição - retrospectiva de homenagen a Malangatana". Maputo: *Tempo,* n.802, 23 February 1986, pp.3-4 (my translation, capitals for 'World of Art' in the original).

[851] Navarro places particular emphasis on Malangatana being invited to participate in the travelling exhibition *Artists of the World Against Apartheid*, initiated by the United Nations. Navarro states that the "Invitation was not only because of his progressive political position but also in recognition of his quality as an artist… for this reason the world's most respected visual artists were invited…" J.N. [Navarro], 15 June 1986, op.cit. P.52 (my translation).

[852] P. Sergio, "Malangatana expoe 'Primavera em Outubro'". Maputo: *Tempo*, 20 November 1994, p.39 (my translation).

[853] Kraft op.cit. P.11 (emphasis added).

Art". This observation does not imply that Africans perform at an inferior level, rather that the bastions of the art world have been resolutely Eurocentric and exclusionary to 'non-Western' artists. This reinforces an earlier point of how Malangatana's exhibitions were communicated to his Mozambican public. Further, it is stressed that while the core of Malangatana's exhibition career, for solo exhibits, was in Portugal, Portugal itself is generally not regarded as a centre of the art world.

A second technique has comprised news reports on the artist's international success. For Mozambican society, Malangatana's international success was principally reported on in three phases: an initial phase preceding his imprisonment; the period leading up to and following his first retrospective (which included a rehearsal of early reports, along with those that did not reach a Mozambican audience during the period in which his voice was suppressed by the colonial government); and his latter years when the Portuguese and Mozambican government showered him with awards.

At the onset of Malangatana's career, his international success was viewed as newsworthy in Mozambique. Contemporary news reports included accounts of the plans for international exhibits,[854] as well as of his early

[854] Anon. "Malangatana vai Expor em Paris e na Nigéria", unknown source, 19 Nov 1961.

exhibitions in Nigeria,[855] Salisbury,[856] and South Africa.[857] His appearance in *Black Orpheus* was also reported, with emphasis on the length of the article, the stature of the publication, and its appraisive content.[858] His collective endeavors were also summarised and reported on in the early stages of his career.[859] A notable feature of these reports is their emphasis on the responses of international critics to the work of Malangatana. While there may well be a practical dimension to this, i.e. Mozambican newspapers had to rely on external reports, the emphasis on critical responses to Malangatana, specifically from international sources, is an important thread in the work done by Mozambican writers, chiefly but not exclusively Navarro, in building an irrefutable argument for validating the artist as a major figure, nationally and internationally.

Navarro would make use of quotes from these early reviews in his series of articles in Malangatana in 1986, as well

---

[855] Anon. "Exposição na Nigéria: Malangatana tem um visão apocalíptica, grandioso, monstruoso e magnificente diz a crítica Nigeriana depois de apreciar a sua exposição". Mozambique [publication not known, accessed from Alda Costa], 2 July 1962.

[856] "O I Congresso internacional bienal de cultura Africana." Mozambique, [publication not known, accessed from Alda Costa], 2 Aug 1962.

[857] Anon. "Galeria 101: O que disseram os críticos Sul Africanos sobre a exposição de artistas de Moçambique." Mozambique [publication not known, accessed from Alda Costa], 4 May 1964.

[858] Anon. "O Pintor Malangatana Analisado em 'Black Orpheus' – revista Nigeriana." Maputo: *Noticias*, 14 May 1962.

[859] Anon. [*Voz Africana*], 16 June 1962. International coverage such as *The Observer* review of his two-man show with Ibrahim el Salahi at the ICA, London, 1963, appears to have first been reported on in 1970. See Mamede op.cit. P.9.

as in his later monograph of Malangatana.[860] He also quoted from early Portuguese reviews of Malangatana, mostly from his first international trip.[861] Many of these do not appear to have been reported previously in Mozambique, an indication of a less receptive press following Malangatana's imprisonment.[862] A mark of Navarro's scholarship is his lack of critical engagement with his sources, they are invariably accepted at face value, their principal value being their role in affirming the stature of the artist. In contrast, Navarro went into combatative mode when, as in the rare example of the Portuguese propagandist Dutra Faria, it was necessary to defend the integrity of the artist. That Navarro was influential in framing Malangatana is further evident in that selected quotes, almost invariably the

---

[860] The *Daily Express* and *Morning Post* reviews of group exhibition at Mbari, Oshogbo, 1962, are quoted by Anon. [Navarro], 11 May 1986, op.cit. Pp. 52-53. The *Rand Daily Mail* review of Johannesburg group show (1964) is quoted by Anon. [Navarro], 11 May 1986, op.cit. P.53. Extracts of these reviews are subsequently quoted in several catalogues.

[861] In the build-up to Malangatana's first retrospective exhibition Navarro quotes from a number of Portuguese reviews which, presumably, may not have been seen by many Mozambicans. In particular, Navarro quotes from *O Seculo* 8 March 1972; Rocha de Sousa (*Diario de Lisboa*, 31 March 1972); Lima de Freitas (*Diario Popular*, 1972). J.N. [Navarro], 1 June 1986, op.cit. quotes Cartaxo e Trinidade (sic) (*Vida Mundial*, 1973); Francisco Bronze (*Coloquio*, 1973); and R.M. Gonçalves (1973). See Anon. [Navarro], 25 May 1986, op.cit. In his monograph Navarro quotes Eurico Gonçalves (*A Republica*, 26 July 1973); along with several of the Portuguese critics quoted in his 1986 articles. See Navarro, 2003, op.cit. From the late 1980s onwards these quotes from Portuguese critics appear in several of Malangatana's catalogues.

[862] A report on Malangatana in Portugal was published in Mozambique. R. Cartaxana, "Malangatana em Lisboa". Maputo: *Tempo*, n.36, 1971, pp.17-20.

same used earlier by Navarro, reappear in various catalogues for the artist's exhibitions, notably his retrospectives.

Various interviews conducted at key junctures in Malangatana's career bolstered the artist's international standing to local publics. Examples include an interview in 1970, following the comparative silence of publications on Malangatana after his imprisonment, and before to his first visit to Portugal in 1972.[863] A similar purpose is fulfilled in a later interview, conducted by Navarro in 1994, after the artist's focus on his international career had left him less visible in Mozambique. Navarro listed countries exhibited in along with awards in a report for *Domingo* newspaper.[864]

During Malangatana's latter years, a period in which he received numerous awards, recognition of his international stature was frequently reported on in Mozambique. The 2005 launch of a campaign to honour Malangatana was well reported,[865] as was his admission into the Lisbon Academy of Sciences in 2009,[866] and, especially, his honorary doctorate from the University of Evora in 2010.[867] Other international awards did not receive the same amount of press, certainly not on the scale of his major Mozambican awards or his honorary

[863] Mamede op.cit. Pp.8-9.

[864] Navarro, 1994, op.cit. P.16.

[865] Anon. [*Noticias*], 24 March 2005, op.cit.; F. Manjate, 25 March 2005, op.cit.; Anon. [*Zambeze*], 31 March 2005, op.cit.

[866] Anon. [*Noticias*], 16 September 2009, op.cit.; Anon. "[*Noticias]*, 10 November 2009, op.cit.; Anon. [*O Pais*], op.cit.

[867] Anon. [*Noticias*], 6 January 2010, op.cit., E. Bernardo op.cit.; M. Rebelo de Sousa op.cit.; Anon. [*Border Post*], op.cit.

doctorate from the University of Evora. However, for an elite audience there would have been awareness of the fact that the artist was increasingly receiving international awards in his senior years, including a prestigious award from the Netherlands' Prince Claus Foundation in 1997;[868] the title of Grande Oficial da Ordem do Infante D. Henrique from the Portuguese government in 2004;[869] and an award for Arts and Letters from the French government in 2007.[870]

I have highlighted the arguments for Malangatana's art as universal and that his international success was key to the notion of him as a universal artist. The notion of universalism intersects with that of humanism:one can identify the artist's concerns with broad themes such as love and war as evidence of this. His humanity has been emphasised in many texts, literally highlighted through the use of capitalised words such as Man, and Humanity.[871]

Complementing the framing of the artist as a humanist is the argument that he bridged divides, not only between Mozambicans and the world at large, but also within Mozambique itself. Malangatana's conception of the necessity for artists to occupy and hold independent positions is evident in his statement that "I very much love undisciplined painters. Those that paint without being dictated to. Those that paint how they feel and not what society wants them to feel."[872] While this may appear

---

[868] Couto, 1989, op.cit.

[869] Anon. [*Zambeze*], 17 February 2005, op.cit.

[870] Anon. [*Noticias]*, 21 September 2007, op.cit. The French award was also mentioned in Anon. [*TVZine*] op.cit.

[871] F. Manjate, 25 March 2005, op.cit.; and Jamisse, 2006, op.cit.

[872] Matusse op.cit. P.53 (my translation)

individualistic, it can also be read as evidence of his desire to position himself as an independent voice, not beholden to hegemonic social and political demands. The identity of Malangatana as an artist critical of social injustice, unbounded by the temporal and political constraints emerged in the postcolonial environment. As he explained his social role to a Portuguese journalist:

> *"In the past, during the time of colonialism I consciously used painting to awaken people to the political and economic situation in Mozambique. These days even though the conditions are not the same I continue in the same way. There exist aspects in our times that can't escape criticism regardless of what they may be."*[873]

Civic roles performed by Malangatana complement the framing of the artist as operating across social and political divides. An important part of the construction of Malangatana as a humanist concerns his work with children. The establishment of an informal art school, in his own private space, was promoted by Unesco and led him to conduct international workshops, notably in Sweden, 1987.[874] In addition, biographies of the artist frequently refer to him as a founding member of the Mozambican Peace Movement, although detail on this role is sketchy.[875] His appointment as Unesco Artist for Peace in 1997 furthered

[873] Homen op.cit. (My translation. Original formulation of last sentence: *"Existem aspectos dos nossos tempos que não podem deixar de ser criticados seja de que forma for."*)

[874] Lourido op.cit. P.46.

[875] Ibid.

his public persona as a promoter of peace,[876] who "above all, was a humanist against violence and injustice…"[877]

The idea of Malangatana as an agent of change who frequently operated outside and across political lines received an understated official sanction when President Guebeza included among the artist's litany of achievements the recognition of him as a "politician and promoter of peace and harmony among Men." (original caps).[878]

4.6 Locating decolonial themes

The objective of this chapter was to unravel Malangatana's cultural capital, to deconstruct his supra-human, iconic status. I have done this by foregrounding socially and historically constructed 'personas'. These have been shown to be deeply interwoven: the autodidact extends into the symbol of national culture as well as into the universal; the revolutionary feeds the national symbol; the symbol of national culture bleeds into the universal artist and global citizen; international stature underpins national status, and vice versa. It becomes clear that while each stream may begin from a disparate source, they flow into the same river, that of the national icon.

---

[876] UNESCO, "UNESCO Director-General expresses sorrow over death of Mozambican artist Malangatana". Online, http://www.unesco.org/new/en/member-states/single-view/news/unesco_director_general_expresses_sorrow_over_death_of_mozam/

[877] Vieira op.cit. P.36 (my translation).

[878] Jamisse, 2006, op.cit. P.14 (my translation, "Homem" capped in the original).

The importance of this analysis is two-fold: to demonstrate the multivalent capital of Malangatana as a cultural sign, in recognition that his cultural capital extends beyond that of his art; and to connect to the fundamental theme of this study, namely the interface between decolonisation and aesthetics. Key here has been the perceptions that:

i) The artist's work is indelibly tied to questions of indigenous culture.

ii) The artist's work is tied to the identity of the nation state; and

iii) The artist's work transcends the limitations or framework of national borders, both as transnational and micro-national.

iv) The artist comes to embody postcolonial relations between former colony and colonising power.

CHAPTER FIVE

READING THE VISUAL: DECOLONIAL FRAMEWORKS FOR A CRITICAL STUDY OF MALANGATANA'S PAINTINGS

> *"When I am painting, I am composing a musical score. I would realy love it if one day someone looks at my paintings and finds in there a song that I didn't sing."*[879]
>
> Malangatana, 2009

5.1 Notes towards a critical framework

In the second chapter I presented an overview of aesthetic responses to decolonisation, as evident in the works of Malangatana's pan-African peers, namely a generation of pioneering African modernists whose careers span the anti/colonial and postcolonial periods. From working through this comparative analysis and thinking about ways in which Malangatana's art can be said to mediate knowledge of decolonisation I have distilled four thematic frames, each of which can be associated with particular points in his career, and convergent with distinct phases within his changing social and political environment.

The four themes pursued in this chapter do not provide a comprehensive critical framework for the interpretation of Malangatana. They do not address the full spectrum and

[879] "Quando estou a pintar, estou a fazer partituras. Gostaria muito que um dia alguem olhasse para a minha pintura e encontrasse nela uma canção que eu não cantei." Original quote in *Jornal do Fund*ão, 2009, cited in Lourido op.cit. P.7.

complexity of his art. They represent an elaboration of specific ideas that relate to the question of how artists respond to the experiences of colonisation and the legacies of colonial rule. These ideas have been applied to a discussion of particular works by Malangatana.

The four critical themes can be summarised as:

- Colonial assimilation as a theme or subtext in his early works
- Representations of anti-colonial resistance
- Dystopian aesthetics and the postcolonial nightmare of the Civil War
- Imaging a new Mozambican identity

In pursuing these lines of enquiry, I have made use of three inter-related methods:

- Critical analysis of polemic signs evident in the artist's work
- Application of insights gleaned from contextual texts
- Presentation of critical readings of the artist in the form of working hypotheses

5.1.1 Introducing the polemic sign

To interpret an artist as complex and evocative as Malangatana I have drawn on a concept enunciated by the French sociologist Jean Duvignaud. Duvignaud published *Sociologie de l' Art* in 1967, which was subsequently translated into English as *The Sociology of Art* in

1972.[880] In this book Duvignaud proposed the idea of "the polemic sign" as a "working hypothesis". In doing so he defined the sign as a "group of activities", in opposition to "the extreme poverty of its present-day meaning. For nowadays, it has only an abstract commutation, gesturing towards a coherent theory which arranges disparate elements into a system which may be challenged as being subjective despite its pretensions to the contrary." In other words, Duvignaud took exception to the sign as translatable or as corresponding evidence of a pre-existing theory. By viewing the sign as a "group of activities" he recognised it as a complex, multi-valent, open-ended, act of imagination.[881] Duvignaud's rejection of the sign as irreducible to a fixed meaning was consistent with his view that a sociology of art should reject three myths, namely that there is "an essence of art", that art has "primitive origins", and that "all art is subservient to reality or to 'nature'".[882] In other words he rejected the idea of art communicating universalist, abstract truths, as well as the ideas that art is a reflection of society or of its maker. These ideas are routinely found in writing on Malangatana. Rather, Duvignaud insisted that "the work of art says no more than what is in it itself – and what we give it."[883] This formulation emphasises the particularity of a work of art. It also introduces the idea that art is in significant part "what we give it". This is important because it emphasises that the public are not spectators; they are participants in the construction of meaning and in the attribution of value to works of art. Key here is

[880] Jean Duvignaud, *The Sociology of Art*. London: Paladin, 1972.

[881] Ibid. P.51.

[882] Ibid. Pp.23-34.

[883] Ibid. P.21.

Duvignaud's conception of art as an act of the imagination, not only on the part of its maker but also its audience. By twinning the sign with the concept of the *polemic*, Duvignaud emphasised its conceptual nature as well as its potentially critical and provocative character.

Duvignaud did not fully elaborate on the polemic sign despite claiming it as a working hypothesis. His examples tended towards the literary, the theatrical and the musical. He did not provide much by way of his writing to elucidate the value of the polemic sign for the visual arts. Nonetheless, for Malangatana, the very idea of the polemic sign is an attractive proposition. Throughout Malangatana's *oeuvre* there are what could be considered symbols, characters or types.[884] The meaning of some elements of his visual vocabulary, for example chains, bibles, and skulls, can be easily deciphered. These can be treated as symbols, especially when seen as discrete pictorial/conceptual elements within specific images. But mostly there is a tendency towards composite or hybrid signs i.e. signs that draw on more than one source or set of ideas, and/or operate in relation to each other. Unlike symbols and metaphors, which can be easily translated into literary form and assigned unambiguous meanings, Malangatana tends towards signs

[884] Lemos et al refer to his use of "symbols, codes and signs", suggesting an awareness that more than one pictorial/conceptual mode is operative. Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.3. In contrast, earlier, Beinart claimed that Malangatana "*translate[s]* the happenings of his life into *symbols* which are artistically valid and which *communicate* to the widest audience." Beinart, 1962, op.cit. P.25 (emphasis added). Later, in 1965, Beinart noted that "his late work has become less narrative". Beinart, 1965, op.cit. P.192.

that are forcefully evocative and often disconcerting in their resistance to stable readings. Examples include female nudes with long, flowing hair, usually with comparatively light (or yellow) skin; supernatural healers; and bird-people. There are also singular elements, such as teeth and eyes, which are used to great dramatic effect. Treating his imagery as a mix of symbols, characters or types suggests their translatability into literary form. Conversely, approaching his iconography as polemic signs serves to identify their charged presence and allows for the exploration of potential significations. These signs are dynamic and transformational, they mutate and morph, and through these changes resist becoming fixed elements even within his own lexicon. Importantly, Malangatana's visual signs overlap and interact with each other, within particular works but also across bodies of works. Thus, the polemic sign operates not only at the level of a particular visual element, as an evocative motif that can be singled out for discussion. It can also function at the level of a complete work where we are confronted by juxtapositions which introduce ambiguities, embody ambivalences, and unsettle fixed meanings. His paintings, and their constitutive iconography, represent complex sets of ideas, and polemic signs constitute an important part of his vocabulary to express myriad complexities.

While Malangatana makes good use of polemic signs, these are not his only means of visual communication. There are instances where it is possible to distinguish a symbol from a polemic sign. For example, a bird in a cage within the context of a body of works dealing with imprisonment symbolises a loss of freedom, which is hardly ambiguous. The line between symbol and metaphor becomes blurred

when, for instance, the idea of hell is used to express suffering under colonialism. In addition, there are sometimes narrative devices, such as semi-realist modes of representation when a surface reading is apt, or evocations of sequence that communicate storylines. The disruptive content of Malanangatana's art is frequently amplified by his simultaneous use of multiple modes of representation within single images. When there is more than one pictorial logic to follow, a clear reading is subjected to uncertainty. For example, if colours both follow and depart from naturalism, how does one comprehend representations of race? With symbols morphing into metaphors and metaphors assuming the complexity of polemic signs, there is little point in distinguishing one form of sign from another. Rather it is productive to recognise that the artist's mix of visual modes, with the polemic sign as central to his approach, is his way to unsettle orthodoxies and create works that resist facile interpretations.

Through engaging actively with the significations of the artist's polemic signs, at both the level of semi-autonomous sign and composite image, one can participate in the process of making meaning of his art. And, at the risk of alienating Duvignaud, one can explore the extent to which these polemic signs reflect broader social concerns as well as the particular experience and consciousness of the artist.

5.1.2 Contextual insights

An awareness of a broader frame of reference and the artist's place in it can enhance the experience of what,

to paraphrase Duvignaud, we 'give to the work'. I have drawn on various studies of Mozambique that were not directly concerned with art. This enabled me to situate Malangatana's art within his social, political and historical context. I have engaged with contemporary texts that articulated hegemonic perspectives, such as those of Frelimo ideologues or supporters; as well as revisionist texts that present critical perspectives on the Mozambican revolution, specifically with respect to themes that occur in the artist's work. This was particularly important in enabling the presentation of critical perspectives in which Malangatana's work embodies or reprises narratives of Mozambican identity.

5.1.3 Working hypotheses

Taking my cue from Duvignaud, I have incorporated working hypotheses into my methodology. These are foregrounded in the manner of brief abstracts. Accordingly, each of the four themes explored below includes a hypothesis. The reason to adopt this approach stems in part from difficulties experienced in attempting to interpret the art of Malangatana, particularly as an outsider. Noting that Malangatana himself was provocative with his themes, seeking at times to shock his audience,[885] it is appropriate to present bold lines of argument. Presenting these as working hypotheses dispenses with dogmatism and didacticism in favour of propositions. The object is to explore lines of thought that emerge from thinking about

[885] Malangatana discusses his renditions of *Adam and Eve in front of the Cathedral of Lourenço Marques, The Black Christ* (dedicated to Mandela), and *The Last Judgement*, all early works, as examples where "the intention was to shock". Vieira op.cit. P.40 (my translation).

decolonial responses in his art, and to put these ideas in the public domain for further researchers to test more substantively. In the development of these hypotheses every effort was made to substantiate arguments, and to extend them to clearly articulated positions so as to beg critical responses.

5.2 Colonial assimilation and subaltern ambivalence

Hypothesis: Malangatana's early works are densely populated with polemic signs that manifest the ambivalences of a Mozambican artist positioned between the indigenous oppressed and the ruling colonial class.

Assimilation was central to Portuguese colonial policy. In theory, the Portuguese did not discriminate on a racial basis. As Frelimo's founding president Eduardo Mondlane noted, "the policy of assimilation lies at the base of the Portuguese claim to non-racialism."[886] Assimilation presupposed a norm, in this case one defined on Portuguese terms, meaning that "the question of equality could only arise at all in the case of 'natives' who had made every effort to adopt Portuguese habits."[887]

Christianity was central to acquiring the status of an *assimilado* (an assimilated person). Mondlane cites Gilberto Freyre, the Brazilian historian who propagated the myth of Luso-tropicalism. According to Freyre:

[886] Mondlane op.cit. P.37.

[887] Ibid.

> *"Portuguese success in the tropics is largely due to the fact that – their expansion in the tropics has been less ethnocentric, less that of a people whose activities are centred in their race and their deliberately ethnic culture system – than Christocentric – that is, a people who consider themselves more Christian than European."*[888]

Noting the prevalence of images by Malangatana that refer to Christian ideas and that these are largely works produced during the anti/colonial period, I explore significations of these works within the framework of assimilation. These Christian references often appear in relation to questions of racial identity. It may seem incorrect to interpret race in Malangatana's works through the colours he assigns to his figures. Generally, one can accept Beinart's view that "often it is difficult to tell whether figures belong to one race or another".[889] However, Malangatana frequently uses colour to represent or suggest racial identity, just as he often plays with the ambiguities that come with a non-didactic use of colour.

Christian signs in Malangatana's works include a prolific use of the cross, along with images of priests, churches, bibles, rosaries, and representations of Adam and Eve. Less frequent are representations of (a black) Jesus Christ, and the Devil. There are also several works that reference Christian concepts such as Heaven and Hell and the Last Judgement through the use of titles and inscribed words, or which refer to scenes in the bible.

---

[888] Ibid. P.36.

[889] Beinart's views on Malangatana cited by Kennedy. J. Kennedy op.cit. P.151.

The references to Adam and Eve are extended through temptress themes where sexuality is linked to sin, shame and guilt. These, in turn, are frequently associated with representations of women with racial connotations. When compounded, these figures of desire and shame constitute some of Malangatana's most charged polemic signs, which for purposes of brevity can be named as the temptress or *femme fatale*, notwithstanding the variation of the iconographic handling of the theme.[890]

While the emphasis in this discussion is on Christian themes, I extend this to works that evoke indigenous belief systems, more especially those that allude to matters of the supernatural, as embodied in images of the malevolent sorcerer (*feiteceiro*) or, less commonly, a benevolent healer (*curandeiro*). Through including such works in this discussion, I bring into focus the *critical distance* of Malangatana to the absolute values of both Christian *and* indigenous belief systems, and the ambivalence that this position manifests. In an earlier exploration of the assimilation theme in Malangatana's work,[891] I questioned whether the occurrence of signs charged with colonial values should be interpreted as the artist having assimilated colonial cultural values, or whether these signs reflected a critique of colonialism. This ambivalence, not only to Christianity but also to

---

[890] Among the many examples of early works where questions of sex, shame are linked to representations of naked women, crosses, and hair, other than those I discuss in this chapter, one can look to *The Crying Blue Woman (1959), Nude with Crucifix (1960) The Virtuous Woman and the Sinner* (1959), *Adam and Eve* (1960), *Story of the Letter in a Hat* (1960). All these works are illustrated in Navarro, 2003, op.cit.

[891] Pissarra, 2007, op.cit. P.16.

indigenous spirit-based practices, I interpret as a signifier of his position as a member of an acculturated[892] or assimilated class, situated in the interstices between the indigenous oppressed, with its rural base, and the ruling colonial class, situated in the cities. However, it should be noted that Malangatana was not an *assimilado* in the strict legal sense of the term.

Several early writers commented on Malangatana's transgressive imagery. Beier noted that "women's hair ... is mostly painted extremely long and flowing even when he paints African women."[893] For Beinart this was evidence of Malangatana's quest for a universal language. In 1965 Beinart claimed that: "When Malangatana paints pagan witchdoctors with Christian crosses around their necks, or African women with long flowing hair, he may be showing that these gaps are not so great that they cannot be crossed; and that the value of a work of art is to demonstrate universal qualities instead of the specific qualities of small groups."[894] Formalist, aesthetic priorities have also been used to explain Malangatana's choice of signs. According to Beinart, "when he uses long flowing hair, it is … largely due to his need to tie the painting together".[895] Schneider foregrounded the artist's subjective position, stating that: "Although African

[892] According to Honwana, writing in the post-independence period, there was a distinction between traditional and acculturated Mozambican culture, with the latter referring to culture that was the "result of interaction between local culture and forms and ideas emanating from foreign cultures." L.B. Honwana, "Papel Lugar e Função do Escritor". Maputo: *Tempo*, 22 November 1981, p.55.

[893] Beier, 1968, op.cit. P.69.

[894] Beinart, 1965, op.cit. P.193.

[895] Beinart, 1961, op.cit. P.26.

women normally wear head scarves covering their short curly hair, painting his women with long straight hair does not seem inconsistent to him. He feels free to use whatever symbols he needs".[896] While Schneider sees "symbols", she does not explore the possible meanings of these.

In a discussion of selected works below, I aim to challenge the established views above. This is not to discount universalist impulses, formalist concerns, or personal subjectivity, all of which *do* play a part in Malangatana's art. Rather, to present the argument that, particularly in his early works, Malangatana deployed semi-autonomous polemic signs that should be interpreted through the prism of Portuguese colonial assimilation.

5.2.1 Signs of assimilation

Nude with Flowers (1962) is an early, deceptively simple painting that brings into dialogue sexual temptation and sinfulness. The two central figures – a (male) priest and a naked woman – are given equal weight but are contrasted through colour and the use of symbols. The priest is clothed and identified through his robes, the bible placed close to his heart, and a heavy rosary. The nude is sparsely adorned with flowers, signifying beauty and nature. A violin hangs on the wall. Violins are associated with the Western orchestral tradition, and hence the presence of this instrument, perhaps incidentaly elevated, serves as a signifier of civilised Western values. Malangatana's gaze is invariably that of

[896] Schneider, 1972, op.cit. P.42 (my emphasis).

a (heterosexual) male perspective, and here it is the priest who is active. In contrast, the nude is cast as passive but expectant, her eyes on the priest. Beier drew attention to Malangatana's use of long hair as "charged with erotic significance",[897] and this eroticism, I argue, can be linked to assimilation, specifically to the Catholic church's teachings on sexuality.[898] These teachings include a mandatory vow of celibacy for priests and the damnation of non-marital (and extra-marital) sex. These taboos are alluded to here in the form of temptation. The priest's eyes are closed, and he is depicted inhaling the scent of a large flower and caressing the nude's hair. He is clearly enchanted by the sensuality of the moment, but his head turns away, suggestive of resistance to forbidden pleasure. His torment is invoked by the yellow drips running from his eyes. Malangatana often used this technique to evoke bleeding, but invariably in red. The use of yellow in this instance softens the wound, suggesting tears but also, through association with the flower, pollination. Her undulating locks are almost serpent-like, possibly an allusion to the Garden of Eden, a theme painted several times by the young Malangatana.[899] The priest also holds a fine necklace with a crucifix, and it is unclear whether he has removed this from the woman's neck, which would suggest more than a secular disrobing but also the robbing of her sanctity. Certainly, the simplicity of the

[897] Beier, 1968, op.cit. P.69.

[898] Malangatana, in his early poem "Woman", explicity links feminine hair to sin and death ("when she dies, I shall cut off/ her hair to deliver me from sin"). Valente Malangatana, "Two Poems", *Black Orpheus*, n.10, 1962, p.28.

[899] For early examples of the artist's reworkings of the 'Fall of Man' in the Garden of Eden see Navarro, 2003, op.cit.

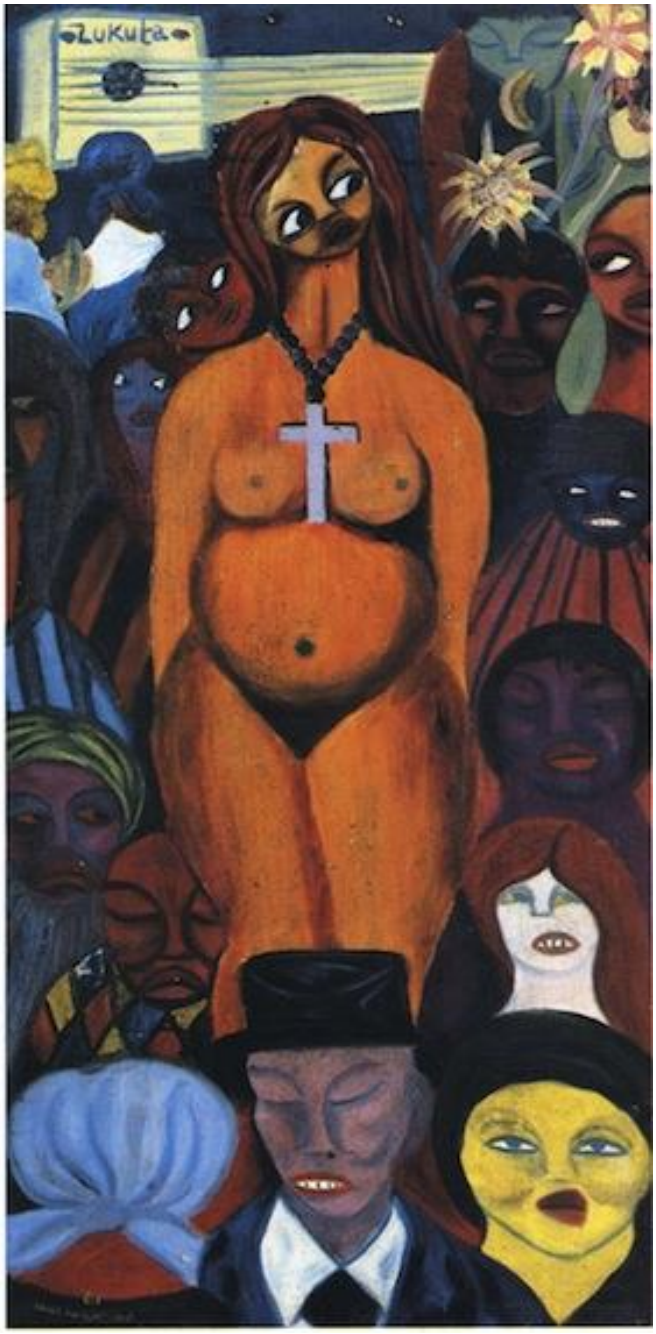
Nude with flowers (1962).
Oil on canvas, 94 x 58.8cm.
Coll: National Museum of African Art, Washington DC.
Source: *http://collections.si.edu/search/detail/edanmdm:nmafa_80-8-7?q=url%3Aedanmdm%3Anmafa_80-8-7&record=1&hlterm=url%3Aedanmdm%3Anmafa_80-8-7&inline=true*

chain and cross matches that of her delicate wristwatch, which it is shown in close relation to. The watch, a signifier of secular Western attire and culture, aligns horizontally with two crosses, introducing the idea of the end of time, an allusion strengthened by the graveyard-like arrangement of small crosses at the bottom of the priest's robe. The priest as an agent of

Christianity in a colonial context is clearly a signifier of the discourse of assimilation. The painting of him as brown suggests that Malangatana intended him to be read as a *mulatto* or as a fully assimilated indigene. The image of a long-haired, naked woman, with her skin rendered in lighter tone (often in yellow as in this example) is, with variations, one of Malangatana's most potent polemic signs.[900] In the period decades before weaves and wigs became popular with black women, it is very likely that Malangatana uses this polemic sign to signify questions of identity relating to assimilation.

Zukuta (1961) manifests and extends some of the ideas at play in *Nude with Flowers*. In *Zukuta* the female subject is again depicted naked, with long flowing hair. Here she is adorned only with a heavy, beaded crucifix. Her presence dominates the middle-ground and centre of the painting. A close look reveals that the figure was initially painted yellow, but the artist has added orange and red tinted browns to colour her in a radiant, earthy fashion entirely distinct from the figures surrounding her. In this work Malangatana appears to have used skin tone, hair and clothing to signify a multi-cultural diversity. White, yellow and pink-faced figures are shown

[900] There are many early images featuring long, straight haired women whose skin tone is invariably lighter than other figures in the same paintings, notably male figures. Examples include: *The Crying Blue Woman* (1959), *Adam and Eve in Front of the Cathedral of* Lourenço *Marques* (1960), *The Lost Girl* (1960), *Scene with Four Women and a Fetisher (1960), Zukuta* (1961), *The Last Judgement* (1961), *A Scene of Sorcery* (1961), *Abyss of Sin* (1962), *The Worker with his Heart Exposed* (1962), *The Spell* (1962; Navarro: 59); and Prisoner's Dream (1965). All these are illustrated in Navarro, 2003, op.cit., and some are discussed in this chapter.

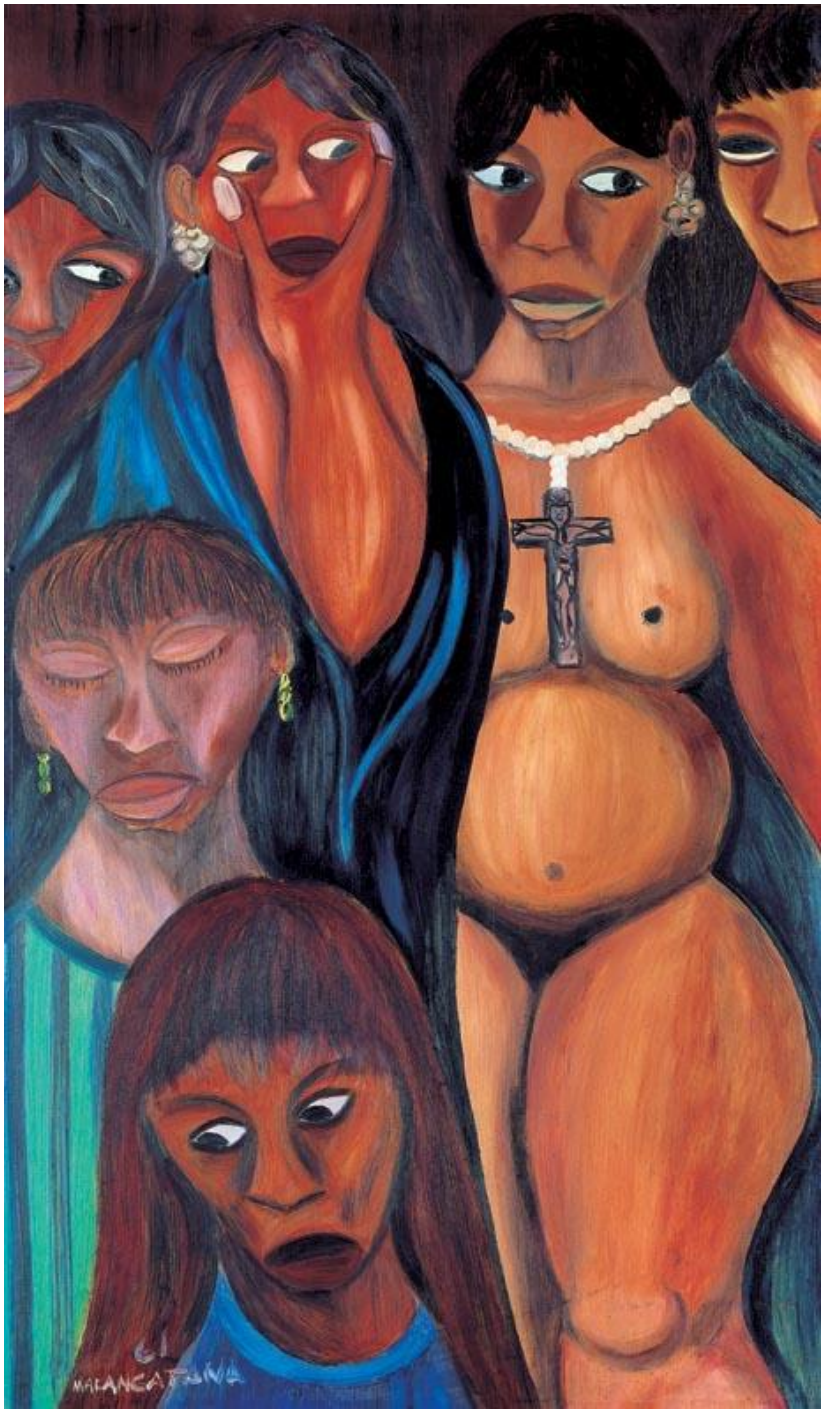


Zukuta, 1961. Oil on platex, 124 x 61cm.
Coll: Lo and Garizo do Carmo.
Source: Navarro, 2003, op.cit.

in front of the nude, with their backs towards her, implying a non-awareness of the large, naked woman in their midst. In contrast, most of the figures in the background are tonally darker, and, to complicate reductive readings, Malangatana assigns to two of them long straight hair. Tellingly, most of the dark figures

are depicted staring at the main figure from behind. She herself casts a look back over her shoulder, as if conscious of her nakedness and of being watched. In the lower left-hand corner of the image we see a woman's head, covered with a scarf. This modestly attired, presumably indigenous African woman is the only figure in the foreground who is shown walking towards the central figure, although whether she stares or averts her gaze is unclear. In contrast to the emphasis on looking and staring, three of the figures in close proximity to the central figure have their eyes closed. There is thus a polarity created between those who see and those who do not. There is also a figure in the top right-hand corner, whose eyes are closed. He resembles the priest figure in *Nude with Flowers*. The proximity of flowers to this figure supports this interpretation. This enhances the ambiguity of her anxious look over her shoulder. It is possible that she looks to the priest for protection, which is not forthcoming.

It is very difficult to not read *Zukuta* as a commentary on the uncomfortable, liminal in-between identity of the *mulatto* or *assimilado* in a racially polarised, colonial setting. Noticeable too, are several significations of hybridity. These include the beaded cross (rosaries are not intended to be worn and the even spacing of the beads do not suggest a rosary), the use of grey (between black and white) for the cross, and the kerosene can guitar as a symbol of the innovative culture of the colonised class. What is also clear is the convergence of a cutting critical commentary and a provocative sense of humour. These qualities manifest in several works from this period.



Friends of the Bride (As Amigas da Noiva), 1961.
Oil on canvas, 101 x 59.3cm. Coll: Dr. Vera Jardim.
Source: *CasaComum.org*, http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_116075 (2018-6-28)

This reading of *Zukuta* is supported by an analysis of *Friends of The Bride*, which was painted in the preceding year (1961). In this work we find several elements that re-emerge in a more complex form in *Zukuta* - the colouring of the temptress, her voluptuous, naked body

shielded ineffectively by a beaded crucifix, subjected to the gazes of others, and displaying some discomfort. What is different is the focus on marriage, and what this introduces into an assimilationist framework. Western conceptions of marriage, as monogamous and sanctified by the Church, disrupted African polygamous traditions. This image represents a woman (indigene or *mulatto*) on the threshold of a third station on the road to assimilation – her ear-rings suggest the trappings of western attire and conventions of feminine beauty, the cross confirms her conversion to Christianity, and now the marriage takes her further into an alienated zone, as we see from the incredulous and disinterested responses of her 'friends'.

If there was any ambiguity regarding the racial identity of the priest in *Nude with Flowers,* Malangatana had a field day in transgressing stereotypes with *The Black Pope and his Calabash from Childhood (1961).* The term "Black Pope" is sometimes associated with the Jesuits, who had an intermittent presence in Mozambique dating back to the 16th century.[901] However it is equally likely, if not more probable, that the work is a provocative transgression of social and religious taboos. Noting the central role of baptism in civilising natives, Malangatana's fictitious *assimilado* has gone all the way

[901] Portugal banned the Jesuit order in 1857 and 1910. They were rehabilitated with Salazar's *Estado Novo* in the 1920s, returning to Mozambique in the 1940s. R.N. Faris, *Liberating Mission in Mozambique: Faith and Revolution in the Life of Eduardo Mondlane*. Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2014, p.3.

The Black Pope and his Calabash from Childhood (Papa Negro e sua Cabaça de Infância), 1961. Oil on canvas, 122 x 193cm.
Coll: Artist's estate.
Source: *CasaComum.org*, http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_116034 (2018-6-28)

to head the Catholic Church. This is not only an inconceivable scenario for one ostensibly saved from a world of superstition and backwardness, where being admitted to *assimilado* status did not translate into equal opportunities, but also an indictment of the Catholic Church and its structural racism as evidenced in its litany of white pontiffs. Not content with this heresy, Malangatana goes further to cast his black Pope as female, when even the idea of a female priest remains taboo in the patriarchal teachings of the Vatican. To compound this transgression of taboos, the black Pope revisits a scene of sorcery that is part of the heathen culture she has left behind.

Malangatana's Pope is draped in a white garment, a symbol of purity, clutching her rosary beads. She has a calabash (signifier of traditional culture) attached to her one arm. Before her, Malangatana depicts two female

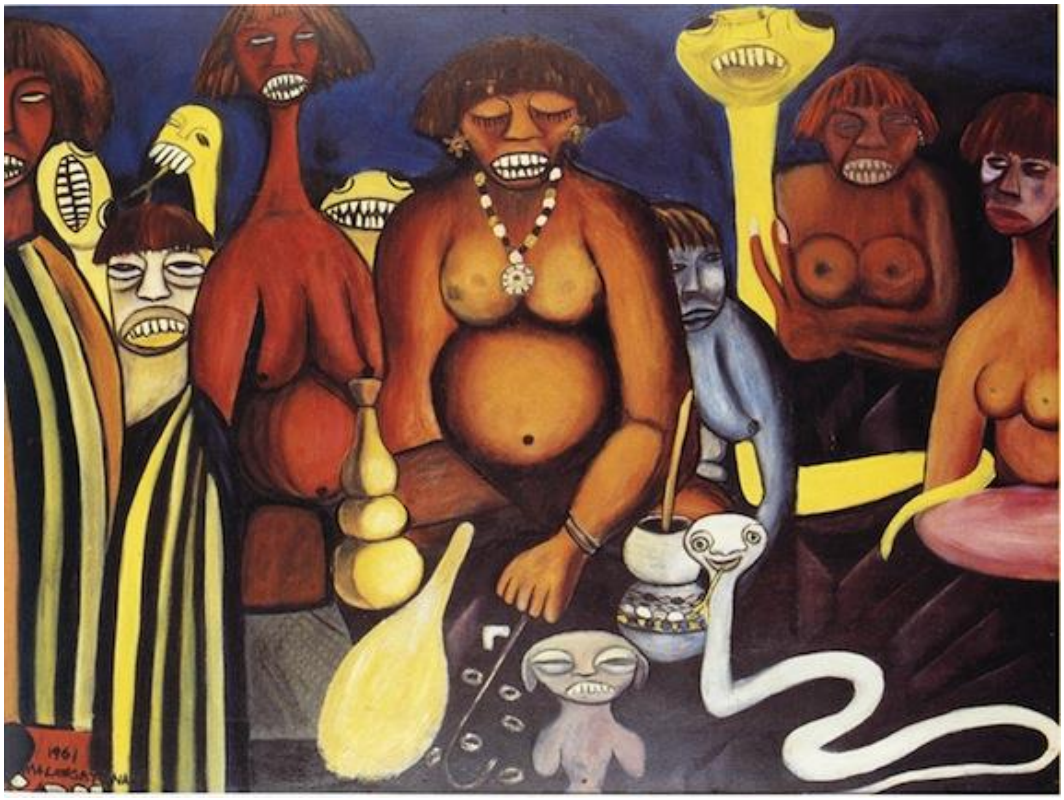
sorcerers, ghoulish and otherworldly. While these figures have long hair, a characteristic associated with Malangatana's temptresses, the hair of the figure on the left looks matted and that of the figure on the right appears to have conjoined with a beard, its yellowness muddied. Both unkempt figures display uninviting teeth. The black Pope, like the main figure in *Zukuta*, peers over her shoulder, conscious of being stared at. Several other figures crowd the setting. Malangatana introduces a range of semi-autonomous figures. These include two variations on the temptress sign, here without their crosses. The treatment of these two figures reveals both affinities and contrasts. The yellow figure with red hair is passive, her body obscured by her hair. The red figure is seated on a low stool, her body voluptuous. The red nude is depicted turning, possibly towards the Pope. She appears to be holding a head in her one hand, which may introduce a biblical reference to Salome and the beheading of John the Baptist. These nudes allude to heat and fire, through their colouration, as well as flame-like treatment of their hair, and in the undulating shapes of the red nude. In their proximity to the two sorcerers in the foreground, a closeness accentuated by the use of colour, the relations implied are more than physical, they are metaphorical - Malangatana's temptresses are likened to witches.

Of interest is another female figure, partially obscured by the red witch but still relatively prominent. Malangatana depicts her with brown skin, and reddish-brown, straight hair. Her hair is moderately long. As with the black Pope this figure is clothed, in her instance in a garment with bold black and white stripes, with the lines diverging to both the left and right. She

anxiously casts her eyes around her. Seen in relation to the black Pope, the striped figure and pontiff are aware of each other. Their positioning in the middle-ground of the composition allows for the reading of both these figures as at a crossroads, as if caught between the terrain of the witches in the foreground and the crowd behind them. Malangatana often uses stripes when depicting priests' tunics.[902] Stripes are not only used for the female figure on the edge of an abominable scene, but also repeated behind her in a less prominent figure. These striped lines perform more than a decorative function. They imply movement, with the lines simultaneously converging and diverging. This bolsters the idea of the image as a critique of the assimilationist position of being in-between social groups, a liminal existential space occupied by converted natives. The choice of colouring for the stripes – white/black and yellow/white – reinforces the racial allusions that underpin the tension in the theme.

What is revealing about this painting is that not only does Malangatana appear to have fun with the idea of a black female Pope being confronted with the culture of her ancestors, but he also has fun with the idea of the supernatural healers whom he depicts as semi-bestial, Macbeth-like witches. Malangatana can be considered to be reproducing negative colonial views on traditional African culture as superstitious and evil, but he can also be considered to be articulating later Frelimo

[902] See *Mhondyo/Mhondjo* (1963), a work that bears some compositional resemblances with *Papa Negro*, where three priests, each with striped robes, stand behind the sorcerers who are depicted seated on the ground. Illustrated *CasaComum.org,* http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_116187



Divination Scene (*A Cena da Adivinha*), 1961.
Oil on canvas, 92.5 x 122.5cm. Coll: Artist's estate.
Source: *CasaComum.org*, http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_116141 (2018-6-28)

criticisms of certain aspects of traditional culture as "obscurantist", as discussed later. Certainly, he appears to be occupying a third position, neither traditionalist nor modern in the assimilationist sense.

Malangatana's largely negative depictions of supernatural healers may relate to his upbringing, and the failure of traditional modes of healing in curing the mental illness of his mother. As can be seen in *Divination Scene* (1961), his critical position borders on the satirical. Here his sense of humour extends to a cartoon-like treatment of some elements. The snake in the foreground is stripped of any sinister intent, it is playful, if not outright absurd.

The Small Dentist (*O Dentista Pequeno*), 1961.
Oil on canvas, 61.5 x 40.3cm. Coll. D. Guedes.
Source: Navarro, 2003, op.cit.

In the painting *The Small Dentist* (1961), we can see that Malangatana did not reserve his jaundiced views of healing to traditional systems. This image is certainly not a celebration of Western science, modern medicine or community health care. But, contrary to Guedes' account that explains this work as auto-biographical,[903] this

[903] Guedes, 2003, op.cit. P.13. The second version of this painting is reproduced in black and white in Beier, 1968, op.cit. P.61.

painting is about more than simply a traumatic visit to the dentist.[904]

The use of white to depict a dental tunic and cap, the modulation of the bowl into which the extracted teeth are placed (and its supporting structure) and the dental accoutrements displayed to the side are all relatively faithful depictions of dental paraphenalia. It is plausible to view the discrepancies in depiction of arms as a consequence of the artist's limited skill in foreshortening, although it can also be noted that the extended arm and exaggerated bleeding introduce a sense of drama that departs from the quotidian. Indeed, the work presents an intriguing combination of realistic and symbolic modes of representation. In accordance with the relative realism of the work, it is likely that the choice of brown for skin tone identifies the dentist and patient as black (Mozambicans). However, this interpretation contradicts the fact that, as Houser and Shore remind us, "the Portuguese did not produce a single African doctor in Mozambique."[905] This means that, more than through the act of hyperbole, it is on the question of race that the mode of representation departs from the 'real' to that of the polemic sign.

If Malangatana could invent a black Pope it follows that he could also invent a black dentist. Hence, we can assume that Malangatana adopts the *idea* of the dentist as a colonial trope, into which he inserts black subjects as

[904] Beier noted that many of Malangatana's images "go far beyond the the depiction of an everyday event. The dentist becomes a torturer…" Ibid. P.69. However, as with all of his writing on Malangatana, he stops short of situating work within a concrete colonial setting.
[905] Houser and Shore op.cit. Pp.53-54.

both co-opted or compromised agents (the dentist) and as dubious beneficiaries (the patient). Noting Malangatana's use of teeth to signify a primitivist state in *The Black Pope*, here their extraction can be interpreted as a metaphor for a painful, bloody rite of passage into the civilised space of the *assimilado*. The back of the chair introduces additional perspectives. Instead of depicting a head support, Malangatana simplifies the structure to great effect. This treatment of the chair creates the impression of the patient's head as being impaled. It also serves to transform the chair into a geometric structure that resembles a stylised figure or even sculpture, an allusion that Africanises the identity of the victim and the setting.

The diminutive allusion in the title of this painting is due to the artist having subsequently produced a larger work on the theme on the same day.[906] However, it can also be argued that the artist could have distinguished titles in a number of ways, and that the choice of words is deliberate. Whether intentionally or inadvertently, the insertion of the adjective "small" underlines that this is not a real dentist. However, rather than being an image of a back-alley dentist, this diminished stature makes the point that acquiring a working use of the master's tools does not make one a Master. Here we, the viewers, are transported into a space masquerading as progress and civilisation. The *assimilado* dentist is presented as one possessed. Whereas eyes usually serve to direct attention between imaged protagonists, the dentist's gaze is directed outwardly towards the viewer. We may be powerless to intervene but in our witnessing of

[906] Guedes, 2003, op.cit. P.13.

this act we are made complicit. The incipient violence of the work expresses the nature of assimilation as one of extreme pain and alienation. Malangatana's figure of the dentist is a polemic sign that expresses the position of the *assimilado* as an indigene operating at the expense of his own. Epistemic colonial violence and indigene complicity are exposed, in a single, deceptively modest painting.

5.2.2 Visions of Hell: colonial dystopia

Earlier a distinction was made between semi-autonomous polemic signs and whole images operating as polemic signs. The latter is particularly evident in densely populated compositions that are among the most difficult of Malangatana's images to interpret. These images typically immerse semi-autonomous polemic signs into a cacophony of signs that communicate an overwhelming state of being. Several of these unsettling vistas introduce the Christian concept of Hell as eternal damnation for sinners as a metaphor for a world beyond reason and hope.

For Guedes, such dystopian works demonstrated that Malangatana had tapped into a global subconscious that bore parallels with scenes painted by Hieronymous Bosch. Guedes, who also championed the idea that Malangatana had deep, subconscious links to his ancestral culture, failed to draw links to the specific, contemporary colonial context. Where, indeed, was Hell for oppressed and exploited colonial subjects? Arguably, Guedes was himself enmeshed in a paradigm where, as Foucault may have argued, he was bounded by the thought-structure of his time. For Guedes, Christianity was normative and

universal, reflecting a shared cross-cultural set of teachings. This conjecture is supported by the peculiar statement made by Beier, whose writing on Malangatana reflects similar ideas to that of Guedes. Beier wrote that "[Malangatana] is a Christian of course".[907] Beier diverges from Guedes in identifying alienation from indigenous culture as a subconscious theme in Malangatana's art,[908] but neither of them seemed to think it was striking that the artist's subconscious was so shaped by Christian ideas.

From the point of an enquiry centred on signs of assimilation, many of Malangatana's dystopian compositions have a prevalence of Christian ideas, as reflected in titles, written phrases, visual symbols, and polemic signs.

Last Judgement (1961) brings the polemic sign of the black priest (left) into a merciless cauldron populated by humans, beasts and hybrid beings. Since there is no depiction of God the Father, we must assume the priest is his proxy, but his blood-sweating demeanour, upright posture with bible before him as in a court of law, suggests that he too is being judged. The use of colour for the human figures is largely naturalistic, suggesting a deliberate intent to depict a multi-racial event where neither settlers, natives, and those in-between are spared, with skeletons reminding us of our common humanity and destiny. The skeletons are being pulled left and right. They mimic a fleshy figure with arms and legs

[907] Beier, 1968, *op*.cit. P.66.

[908] Ibid.

Last Judgement (Juízo Final), 1961. Oil on canvas, 92 x 122cm.
Coll: Artist's estate. Source: Navarro, 2003, op.cit.

spread outwards. This indeterminate female figure has a giant head positioned between her legs, possibly indicating giving birth into this unwelcoming space. Earlier I posited that the juxtaposition of pictorial modes is one of the means the artist uses to create unsettling meanings. If we accept that skin tones are relatively life-like, then what does one read into the figure giving birth being light-brown and the head between its legs being a composite blue-black? Is there a racial connotation to these figures and if so, what does it mean? Alternately, is the Christian association of darkness with evil the key to reading the identity of the 'child', if indeed it is a child at all? Efforts to read the inter-relations between semi-autonomous polemic signs within this painting yield similar results – nothing is

certain, and one inevitably questions one's own logic when trying to rationalise what is clearly intended to be a zone of terror. Perhaps the only certainty is that Christian concepts, ingrained through assimilation, inform the very concept of the work, i.e. that one day Jesus will return, the world will end and only those chosen will be saved from eternal damnation. What the artist does with that information becomes clearer only when looking at other works on this theme.

Abyss of sin (Abismo do Pecado), 1962.
Oil on canvas, 121 x 243cm.
Coll: Artist's Estate.
Source: Navarro, 2003, op cit.

The Christian concept of Sin, which originates in the Book of Genesis in the Temptation in the Garden, with its representation of woman as temptress, casts a strong shadow on many of Malangatana's early works. Themes of sex, shame and guilt are prevalent. In the *Abyss of Sin* (1962), these female signs and contingent discourses can be found, but do not dominate. The work makes symbolic use of a horizontal axis that runs across the lower half of the painting. Many of the figures positioned on this axis have only their upper bodily parts visible. This

creates the effect of sinking into or being swallowed by the earth. The idea of being swallowed is underscored by a written reference to the biblical Jonah (who was swallowed by a whale). There is also a vertical axis running down the centre of the painting. It is at the juncture of these two axes that we find the focal point, a yellow figure (moderately suggestive of the use of yellow for *femme fatale* figures, but here without anything to denote gender) with hands raised above its head almost as if bound, and certainly helpless to resist the plunge into the abyss. Behind this figure there is a red anthropomorphic figure, with a penis which identifies it as male. This figure is besieged from left, right and below, by bestial figures with pronounced teeth, suggesting direct danger. The red figure has outstretched arms as if to shield itself from these threats. Each hand has three fingers, which may imply an affinity with the devil, to whom the artist assigns three-pronged forks in *The Spell*, another painting from the same period (1962). On one-hand this figure's splayed posture resembles that of the skeletons in the *Last Judgement*, but here there are no protagonists tearing them apart. In the discussion of *The Black Pope* it was suggested that the artist sometimes uses opposing directional lines to imply choice, and this seems to be the case here. Behind this figure there is another evocative sign, suggestive of both a bird and an angel, with outstretched wings. It is possible that a quasi-vignette is operative here. Read from top to bottom, we find a hybrid symbol of light, with the capacity to fly. In front of this figure we find a quasi-diabolical figure reaching to both sides but incapable of saving himself. In front we find the raised hands, as if bound together, as the yellow figure sinks into the pit. These juxtapositions communicate a sequence

of events leading to catastrophe, amidst a ghoulish setting crammed with competing micro-narratives. *Abyss of Sin* appears to be a reworking of an earlier untitled painting purchased by Beier. This painting contains elements found in the later *Abyss*. The angel is dispensed with, although Christian iconography is retained in the repeated uses of the cross, which does not appear in *Abyss*.

Untitled (1961). Oil on canvas, 61.5 x 123.5 cm.
Coll: Iwalewahaus, Universität Bayreuth.
Source: Hausderkunst.de; http://postwar.hausderkunst.de/en/artworks-artists/artworks/untitled-ohne-titel-6

The most significant difference between the two works is the prominent inclusion, in *Abyss of Sin*, of a young figure, probably male but not definitively so. The regalia he wears suggests a person of high social standing. As there is no similarity to other images of traditional healers, this figure may represent a traditional chief, a figure that may well otherwise be absent in Malangatana's lexicon. As in the polemic sign of the black Pope, this figure is on the edge of a point of no return, and situated in relation to the central

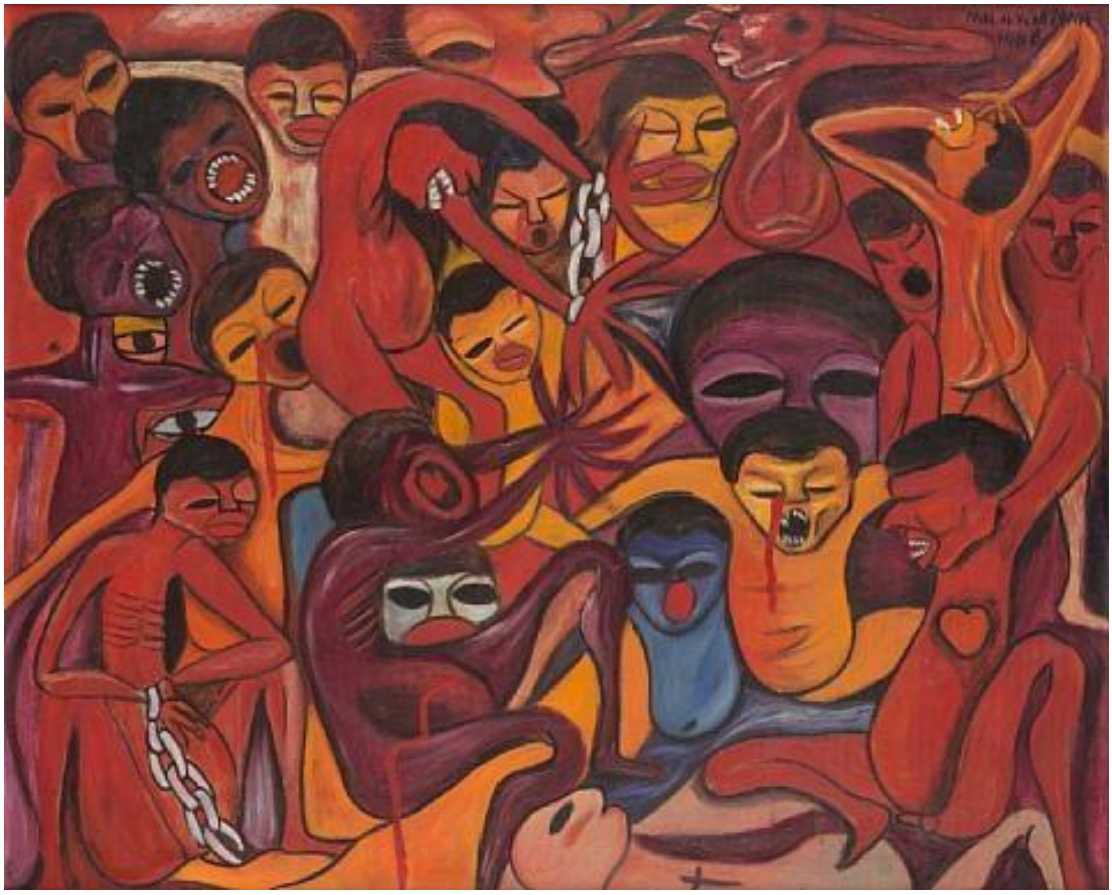
'sinking' sign, although in his calm demeanour and passive pose, he appears oblivious of any threat. A close look reveals two realistically painted figures behind the 'chief'. They wear similar beaded bands on their foreheads, along with the same horn (or feather). They lack the chief's crest that adorns his head-band, suggesting a lower station. Their fierce demeanour evokes the identity of experienced warriors, certainly they contrast with the youthfulness of the dominant figure. This suggests the chief to be a prince or at least an heir of an older tradition. Their positioning in the background suggests roles of advisors or bodyguards. They communicate a wary presence, and in following the young leader to the edge of the precipice the linear formation of the group suggests a journey with an unhappy, inevitable ending. The semiotic function of these figures may be to signal the pending decimation of traditional institutions.

The Spell (1962), in its mix of visual references to the *feiteceiro* and to Christianity, continues the visions of Hell genre that many of Malangatana's early works can be said to be part of. Written references to heaven, hell, purgatory and limbo (in the top right-hand corner) reinforce this reading, as does the clock signalling the end of time ("Omega"). There are two inflexions in this work that are worth singling out. The first is the diabolical yellow figure behind the *feiteceiro* (who, presumably, is casting the spell referred to in the title). This figure with its horns, and with three-pronged forks on either side conforms in these respects with popular depictions of the devil. Thus, an explicit association is made between the work of the *feiteceiro* and the devil. A secondary inflexion is in the inclusion

The Spell (O Feitiço), 1962. Oil on canvas, 120 x 247cm.
Coll: Artist's estate.
Source: Navarro, 2003, op cit.

of a weight bearing figure in the bottom right of the composition. This figure carries a load with "500 kg" written on it, and has some resemblance to the dockworker/ porter discussed in the next section. *The Spell*, then, departs from an ahistorical imaginary space that is occupied by "witchcraft" to provide glimpses of a secular hell that comprises both the destructive qualities of local traditions and the exploitative labour practices of Portuguese colonialism.

The secularisation of Hell becomes more explicit in *Inferno*, a work painted after Malangatana's incarceration. Here, apart from the title, Christian references have disappeared. So too has the *feiteceiro*. Instead, the cross, devil's fork, and calabash have been replaced by chains, associated with slavery and captivity. If *Last Judgement* used semi-naturalistic skin-tones to communicate that we are all damned, regardless of ethnic or racial identity, the artist limits his palette here to introduce a comparative homogeneity that excludes (white) settlers. One exception is a pink figure



Inferno, 1968. Oil on board, 73 x 90cm.
Source: *artnet.com*, http://www.artnet.com/artists/malangatana-valente-ngwenya/inferno-LUnje49VB_cz5vxqNK6Hdw2

that is shown horizontal, probably killed by the crowd. Close inspection reveals an understated cross on this body, a detail that acts to further distinguish this figure from the mass of mostly animated bodies. There is also a white, mask-like face that peers from the throng of natives, possibly a witness to the killing. In its more openly politicised use of a biblical concept, *Inferno* bridges those works that use Christian concepts as oppressive signs of colonialism and the more explicitly political work that was increasingly being produced by Malangatana during the 1960s, as discussed below (5.3).

5.2.3 Signs of counter-assimilation

Polemic signs that reflect Christian (more precisely, Catholic) teachings of sex as synonymous with sin and shame, conjoined with western (racist) ideals of feminine beauty (more especially light skin, long hair), are a feature of Malangatana's art during the colonial period. They appeared at the time when Christianity was imbricated in colonial discourse as central to the policy of assimilation. Key iconographic shifts occurred after independence, with the Christian references receding, if not disappearing. A new image of identifiably African women emerged in the postcolonial period, along with an increasing number of depictions of shame-free eroticism.[909]

This shift away from Christian tropes did not begin dramatically after independence, but rather began contiguously with the evolving political consciousness of the artist. This is clear in the erotic works produced during his political imprisonment, where allusions to shame and sinfulness and strong biblical iconography recede from the artist's works.

A series of erotic works produced in 1965, presumably while in prison, are instructive in highlighting questions concerning the artist's depiction of racial types. They also strongly suggest that the artist was inclined to insert himself into some of his erotic narratives. Since these are images of desire and lust, the self-positioning of the artist in relation to divergent, racially-flavoured carnal feasts is

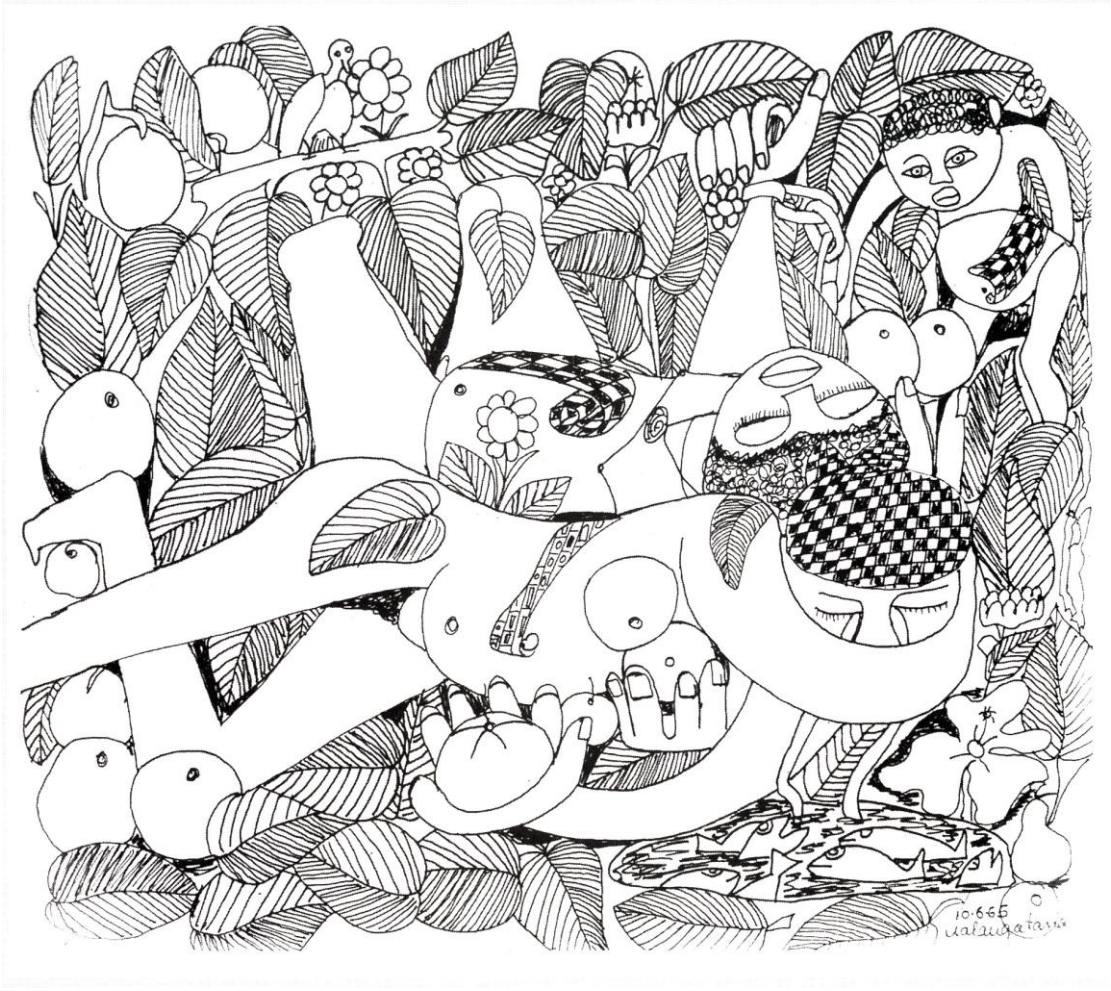
[909] Pissarra, 2007, op.cit. P.17.

significant in advancing the argument that he was intrigued by western notions of beauty. With the exception of the painting *The Prisoner's Dream* (1965), these are monochromatic drawings. Whereas the yellow ochre of the two female bodies in *The Prisoner's Dream* introduces a racial ambiguity (an observation compounded by the very different treatment of their hair), in the drawings it is line and pattern that is used to differentiate racial identity.

Dream of Love in Prison I (Sonho de Amor na Cadeia I), 1965.
Ink on paper, 15 x 20cm.
Source: Navarro, 2003, op.cit.

In the first three drawings of the series *Dream of Love in Prison* (1965), the woman's hair is covered by a

patterned head-scarf, signifying an African identity, perhaps a specifically Mozambican identity. There is an abundance of signs which allude to nature – lush foliage, vegetables, and in two of these images there are birds. Nature (unlike in *Nude with Flowers*), is the source of pleasure, not guilt. The works appear to be narrated sequentially. In the first, the act of love is depicted. In the second, the lovers rest side by side. In the third, the woman departs, as if in flight. This violent rupture is signified by the image of a severed torso.

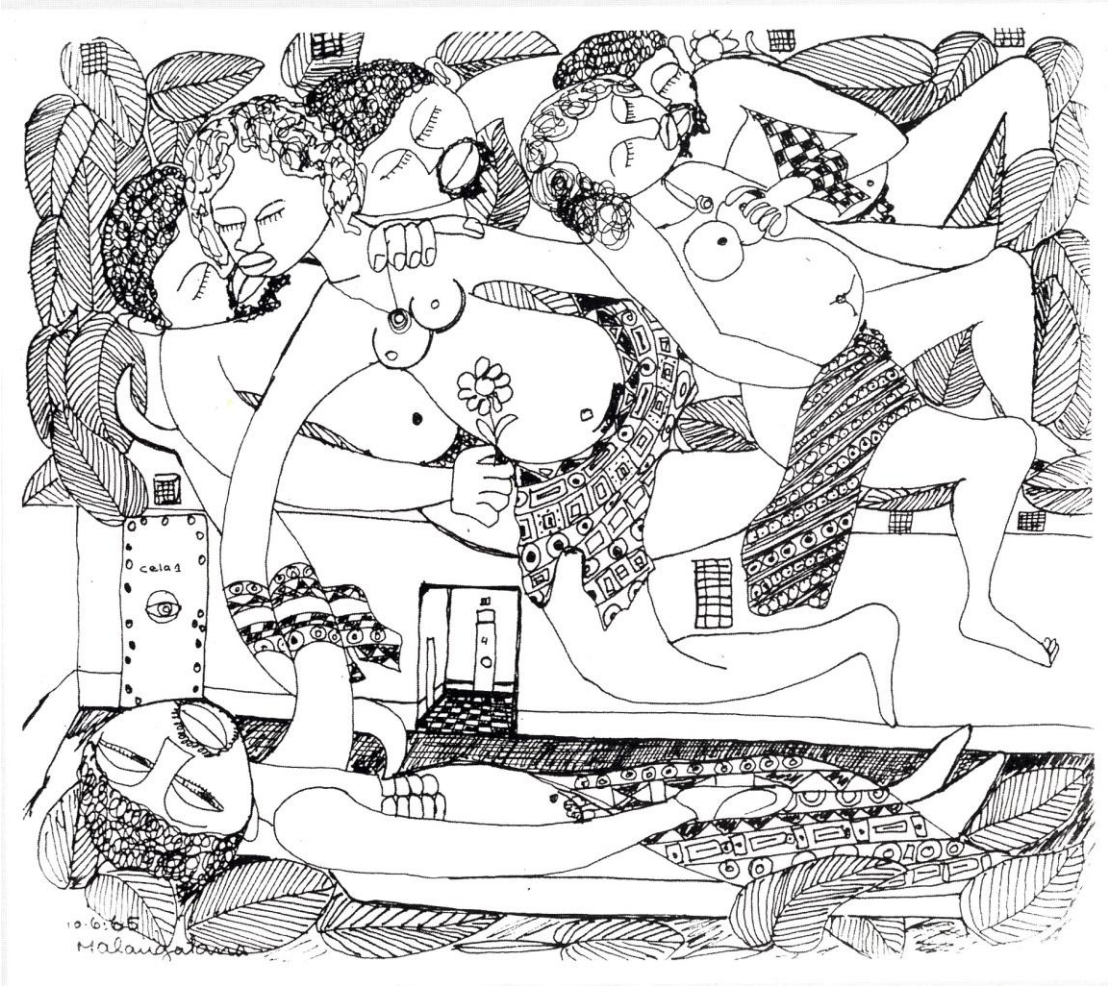


Dream of Love in Prison II (Sonho de Amor na Prisão II), 1965.
Ink on paper, 15 x 20cm.
Source: Navarro, 2003, op.cit.

Dream of Love in Prison III (Sonho de Amor na Prisão), 1965.
Ink on paper, 15 x 20cm.
Source: Navarro, 2003, op.cit.

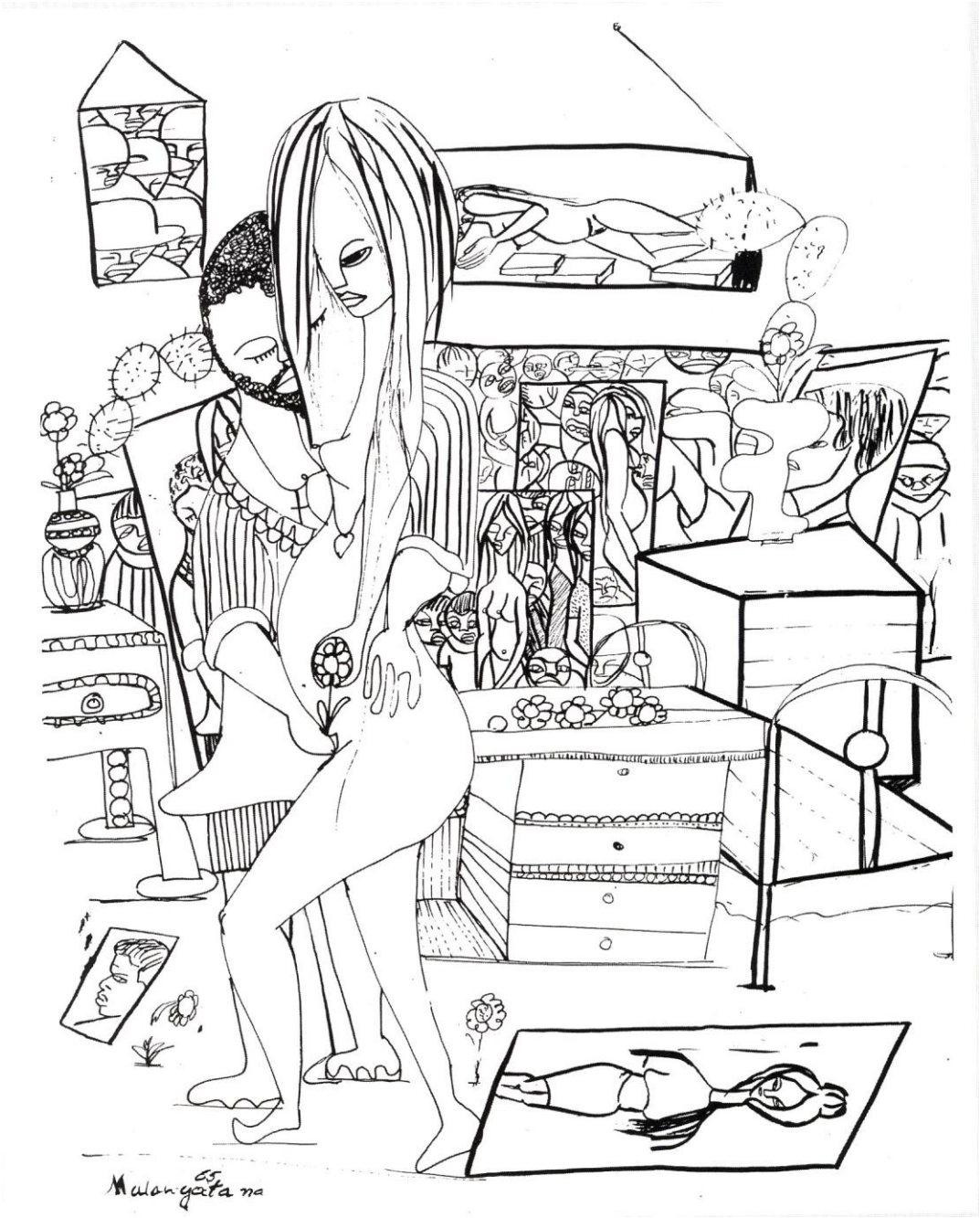
In the fourth image, the male figure lies alone on the floor: images of their coupling float above him, as if to represent a figure dreaming. In this image a prison cell, which is hinted at in the first and third image in the series, becomes more explicitly identified as the location for the dream. This memory (or fantasy) of the woman is the only drawing in the series that shows her with her head uncovered, her hair curly, loose, and of medium length. Hair is used here to differentiate gender, and the treatment of the man's hair (consistently throughout the series) corresponds with the conventional racial typology of Malangatana as a black African. While significations of feminine African identity are present

in the depiction of patterned cloths, the woman has either 'relaxed' her hair or chosen to not sport a natural Afro-style. This transformative aspect enhances the idea of the 'dream' as an imagining of a feminine ideal that transgresses rigid notions of authenticity. However, where all works in this series depart from the earlier polemic signs of the temptress is in the absence of guilt and implied judgement.



Dream of Love in Prison IV (Sonho de Amor na Prisão IV), 1965.
Ink on paper, 15 x 20cm.
Source: Navarro, 2003, op.cit.

A very different feminine ideal emerges in *The Studio* (1965). A female figure is depicted with flowing hair. She is naked save for a small pendant around her neck.

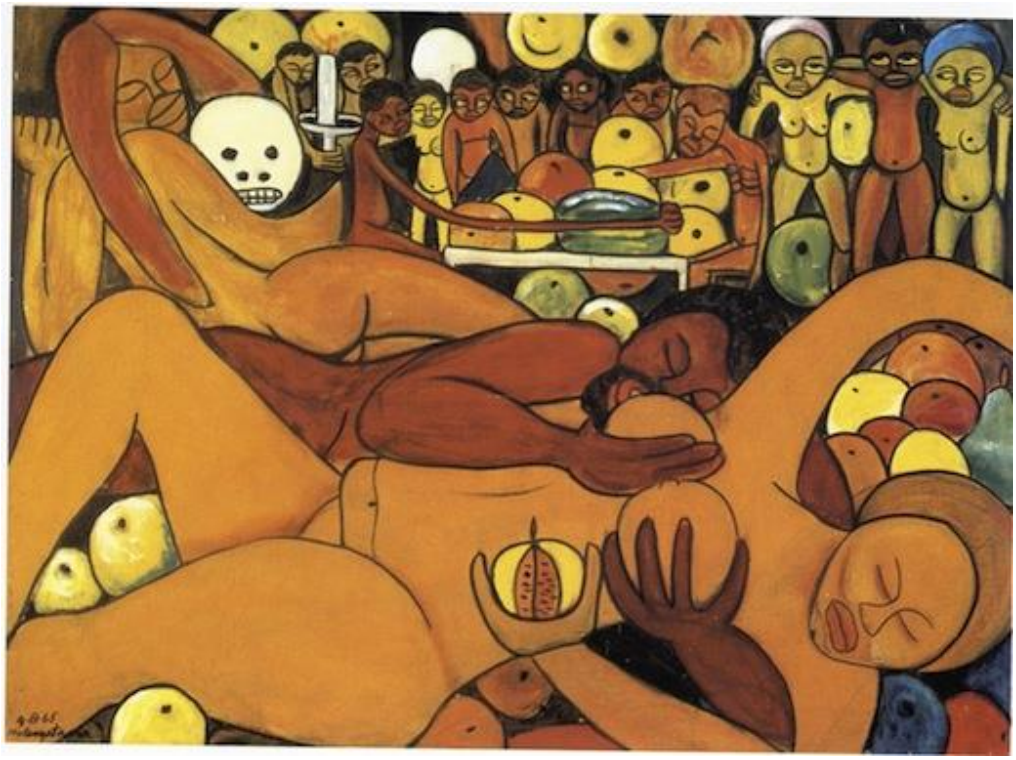


Studio (Estúdio), 1965. Ink on paper, 51 x 36.5cm.
Coll: Artist's estate. Source: Navarro, 2003, op.cit.

A male figure, similar in appearance to the protagonist of the *Dream of Love in Prison* series wears a dashiki and, unusually for Malangatana's representations of non-clerical male figures, has a small crucifix hanging around his neck. The two figures are locked in an embrace, with the man's right hand inserted between her thighs. A flower protrudes from her genital area,

reminiscent of the iconography of *Nude with Flowers*. There is no guilt implied in this work, only desire. The pan-African (more accurately West African) attire, Christian trappings, and exotic object of desire evoke a cosmopolitanism, albeit from a heterosexual male perspective, that was absent in the *Dreams of Love in Prison* series. There is no luscious vegetation here, plants are confined to pots, and are more those of the desert than the forest. These are the only indications of involuntary confinement. The prison cell is abandoned. This is a world beyond that, one which locates the protagonist as a professional artist. The cosmopolitanism in the image is principally a Eurocentric one. The artist and model are surrounded by rectangular paintings (one of which resembles Malangatana's images of workers from the time), and what looks like an abstract sculpture on a plinth. This drawing is evidently in the artist and model trope that is well established in western art, where, as in the works of Picasso, there is frequently reference to the practice of sexual relations between artist and model. On the floor there is a drawing of what appears to be the same model, wearing a short skirt. At that time the mini-skirt was synonymous with Western popular culture. Whether the work describes an act of fantasy or memory, the element of sexual desire is explicit - certainly on the part of the male.

The Prisoner's Dream (1965), a rare painting from the time, graphically depicts the inter-linked questions of feminine beauty, male desire, and racial identity. Malangatana concentrates his palette on an exchange between yellow, yellow ochre and brown, with green, blue, black and white used sparingly. The male figures are depicted in darker tones than the women. This observation



The Prisoner's Dream (*Sonho do Prisoneiro*), 1965.
Oil on canvas, 85 x 117cm.
Coll: Artist's estate. Source: Navarro, 2003, op cit.

can be applied to many of the artist's works. I have previously argued that this reflects a (male) westernised conception of beauty where lighter skin tones are preferred, and pointed to the paucity of contrary examples to corroborate this view. In an earlier text on Malangatana I posed the tentative observation that: "The struggle for decolonization manifested in Malangatana's art in various ways. The most obvious is through direct and indirect images of resistance to colonial rule. Perhaps more profoundly decolonization manifested itself as an intense struggle with the values imposed by the colonial other, and an ongoing battle to resolve these within the self."[910] In *The Prisoner's Dream* this struggle is graphically realised, with the outcome reflecting the

[910] Pissarra, 2007, op.cit. P.17.

artist's gradual shift towards more overtly Africanised notions of beauty. This happens concurrently with a reduced visibility of the temptress sign that featured so prominently in many of his early works. These shifts can be understood as a form of counter-assimilation, with western conceptions of feminine beauty gradually disappearing from the artist's works.

In *The Prisoner's Dream* we see a naked male figure reclining between two naked women. The male resembles if not necessarily directly depicts the artist. The women are both rendered in yellow ochre. There is a slight difference in the concentration of the colour of the women, but nothing sufficient to differentiate between them. What distinguishes them as distinct feminine types is in the treatment of hair – one covered, signifying modesty and African identity, the other with long, straight hair. Their bodies are also contrasted – the long-haired woman has a slender build, corresponding more to western ideals of beauty. The male figure is depicted between the two women, but with his full attention directed towards the 'African' figure, whose body is likened to ripe fruit. The man has his back towards the long haired-woman. She is depicted turning – her back towards him, her head cast back in his direction. In the discussion on *Zukuta*, I argued that the placing of figures in front or behind each other can serve as a narrative device. Here it suggests who/what he is leaving behind and who/what he has committed himself to. The contrast between fruit and skull, with the latter placed next to the 'westernised' female, supports this reading.

The lack of shame depicted in erotic works from this period is significant. Arguably it reflects the receding

impact of the doctrine of Original Sin that hung heavily over many of the artist's early works. However, the presence of the Church has not been completely eradicated. In *The Studio* the man (artist) wears a small crucifix. An intriguing detail in *The Prisoner's Dream* is the function of two figures in the background, situated towards the left side of the painting. These figures hold a large candle, placed in what resembles a baptismal font. One figure appears to wear a robe and bears some likeness to the priest in *Nude with Flowers* (who may also be lurking in the shadows of *Zukuta*). Large candles feature in many Catholic church services, and their presence in this work signifies the persistence of Christian ideas. However, their remote position, notably not far from the graphically rendered skull, complements the reading of this work as a reflection of the growing trend towards counter-assimilation, commensurate with the artist's evolving political consciousness.

5.3 Imaging anti-colonial resistance

Hypothesis: Anti-colonial themes are explicitly articulated in many of Malangatana's works from the colonial period, with the artist often employing narrative, metaphorical and symbolic means to make his content more easily translatable to a nationalist audience.

In the preceding chapter I discussed the social construction of Malangatana as a revolutionary icon. A significant contributory factor to this image of the artist is the *idea* that his work *represents* (i.e. gives visual shape or form to) narratives of anti-colonial

resistance, or implicitly *manifests* the spirit of resistance.

The positioning of Malangatana's art as emblematic of anti-colonial resistance is particularly evident at two points in his life. It emerged as a forceful argument during the period leading up to (and following) his first major retrospective exhibition (1986). While this was presented as a process of educating the public about Malangatana, the primary objective of this argument on the part of Navarro and other supporters of the artist was to categorically counter the humiliation that the artist was subjected to in the immediate post-independence period, when, like many intellectuals, his revolutionary credentials were questioned by the radical Frelimo leadership, leading to his being sent for political re-education.[911] It was from this period that the revolutionary narrative became prominent in the presentation of Malangatana to international audiences. It also featured in the numerous citations made during his late years, specifically in motivating his worthiness for national and international awards.

This section of this chapter specifically considers the extent to which anti-colonial narratives can be read into Malangatana's art. This is less concerned with questions of cultural identity than with specific, explicit political narratives.

Early signs of a tendency towards social commentary can be seen in *The Digger* (1960). The work may appear at first glance to be a simple juxtaposition of colonial

[911] De Souto op.cit. P.287

The Digger (*O Cavador)*, 1960.
Oil on canvas, 120 x 98cm.
Coll: Artist's Estate.
Source: *CasaComum.org*, http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_116164

boss and indigene worker, with a gendered subtext that serves to visualise the racist hierarchy of a patriarchal, colonial society. However, it is characteristic of Malangatana to introduce provocative nuances. The worker appears buffoon-like in his seeming contentedness, in stark contrast to the stern gaze of his overseer. The term *cavador* brings with it the idea of a 'go-getter', implying that the servile man is set on improving his condition. In this context the image introduces a mocking character to its critique - what

prospect for advancement is there for this lowly position with its attendant discriminatory practices? Indeed, as in the artist's use of the dentist as a colonial trope to make a broader social comment, Malangatana introduces a critique of the social stratum of workers grateful for their terms of abjection. There is, however, a degree of warmth in the artist's depiction of the digger. He is not overtly ridiculed. Through this ambivalent approach he humanises the digger. The woman, beyond her obvious role as the colonial madam, is also subjected to Malantatana's nothing-is-as-is treatment. The exaggerated buttons of her coat, coupled with the suggestion that she may be naked beneath it, introduces questions of sexual relations between (male) workers and (female) bosses that make her fixed gaze ambiguous. Is this an image of supervision or obsession? If the latter, then the go-getter may indeed be enjoying more benefits than what are apparent to the outside world. Or is the madam also implicitly referred to in the title? This sexualised reading is supported by the treatment of the sun/moon/light which in shape and colour corresponds to the buttons on the woman's coat, and the swirling brown lines that surround this sign are adjacent to and echo the shapes of the fingers of the worker. Through such suggestive means, the artist transforms his figures from being symbols of oppression into signs charged with questions of complicity and transgression.

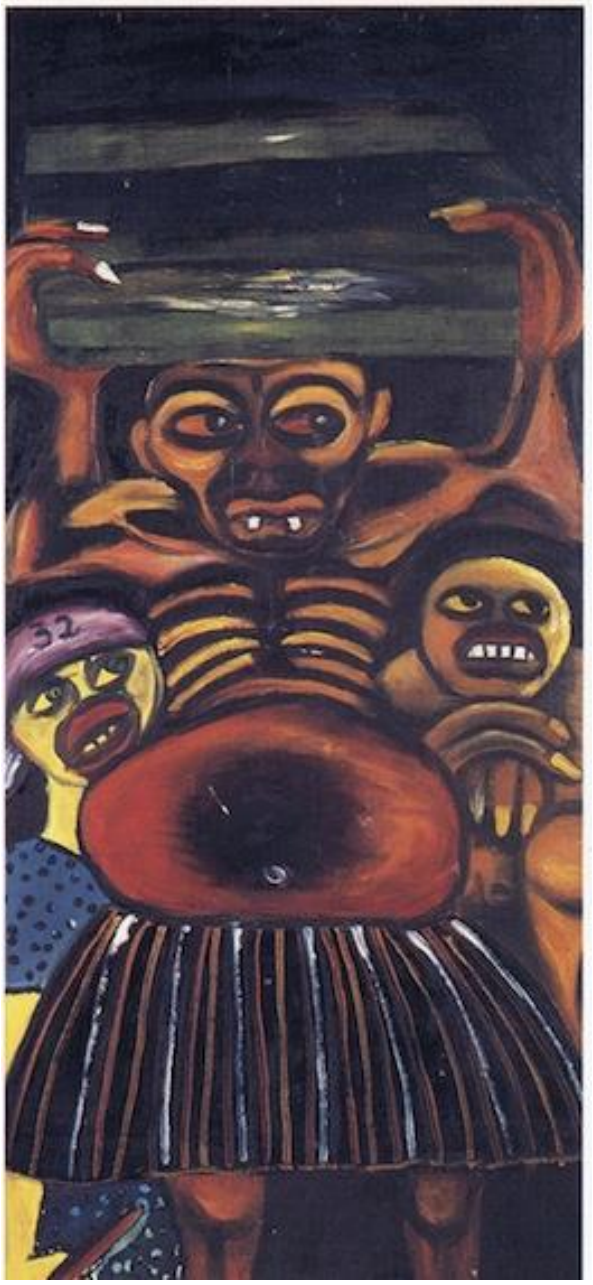
A more overtly political theme is apparent in *The Porter* (1962).[912] In this painting Malangatana centred his composition on a male figure carrying a load on his head His ribs are exposed and his belly swollen. The overall

[912] This work is also known as *A Poem Written 400 Years Ago! (*Um Poema Escrito há 400 anos!). http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=07210.057.000

tone of the work is dark, commensurate with the grim subject. The work can be read as a direct response to exploitative conditions. In 1956 the Portuguese military and police brutally suppressed a dockworker strike in Lourenço Marques. 49 stevedores were killed. The year after this painting was produced a national dockworker strike was crushed.[913]

Seen in the above terms, *The Porter* is a form of socialist realism. It may depart from text-book socialist realism in its stylistic depiction of the worker, but this distortion is done for didactic purposes. However, where *The Porter* transforms from a direct symbol of oppression into a more layered, composite sign is in the deliberate choice of a grass skirt. In all probability, dockworkers would not have worn traditional attire. More likely, they would be dressed in well-worn if not dishevelled Western clothing. The departure from a faithful depiction of the worker's dress serves to locate the figure as a displaced rural dweller, forced by political and economic circumstances to toil for the colonial master. The exaggerated treatment of the body suggests hunger and malnutrition. This serves to communicate both labour exploitation and the urgent need to feed a family. With this reading, the two figures in the background of *The Porter* probably represent a rural wife and an unclothed child. The rendering of the woman in yellow, which it is argued is frequently a device to introduce questions of racial identity, serves to complicate the narrative, enhancing the polemic character of the image.

[913] Houser and Shore op.cit. P.21.

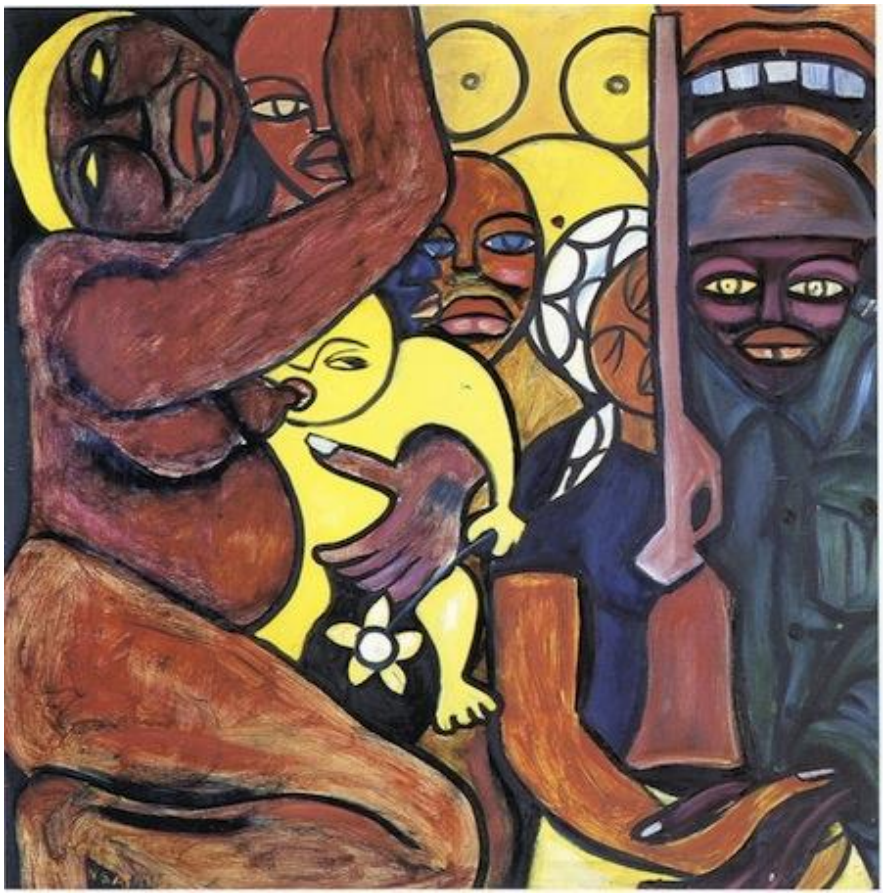


The Porter (O Carregador), 1962.
Oil on board, 120 x 62cm.
Coll: Artist's estate. Source: Navarro, 2003, op.cit.

This mix of modes, the semi-realist, the narrative and didactic, the empathetic and the provocative; and the mix of signs, symbolic and composite, represents a concurrence of visual idioms that is commonly found in Malangatana. Within the range of this vocabulary, the deployment of the polemic sign as both semi-autonomous

and collective produces sites of ambivalence, unsettledness, and existential contestations. Polemic signs do not only reflect broader social disharmony – they provoke critical engagement whilst their lack of categorical definitiveness serves to protect the artist from censure. However, the character of complex polemic signs does not always sit easily within social situations where political imperatives to communicate clear positions come to the fore. This may partially explain the prevalence of complex semi-autonomous polemic signs in the early years, whereas by the mid 1960s we see a greater use of narratives, symbols and metaphors that translate more easily into messages that embody distinct political interests.

This evolution to the 'more translatable' can be seen in early works that were produced in response to the commencement of the armed struggle. In 1964, the year of Frelimo's first military offensive, Malangatana painted *Sending off to War*. The left-hand side of the painting is dominated by the image of a mother, naked except for a yellow headscarf. She is suckling a young child who holds a flower. The woman's belly is swollen, indicating that another child is on the way. Her body suggests strength and its colouring is close to the earth, signalling a natural state, not unlike that of the blooming flower. However, her head is tilted to the side, as if looking askance. To the right of the image the artist presents another woman, clothed this time, in western dress. She too wears a head-scarf, patterned in this instance and intended to confer on her a semi-traditionalist identity (Mozambican and African). Her eyes are closed and her tilted head is overlayed by a rifle attached to a male figure dressed in combat fatigues. The soldier's hand



Sending off to War (*Despedida Para a Guerra*), 1964.
Oil on canvas, 123 x 123cm.
Coll: Manuel de Brito. Source: Navarro, 2003, op cit.

is in that of the woman's, suggesting an intimacy in spite of the barrier between them. This contact is severed by his going to war, but they are shown to be joined. Apart from the eyes of the two women, the eyes of the suckling child and those of figures in the background look towards the soldier, who is the only figure who gazes directly at the viewer. The composition may suggest that the women, child and soldier represent different characters. However, it is more likely that the work depicts the temporal transition from birthing to the 'loss' of a child to the war. It narrates the inevitable, which explains why the eyes of the woman (or women) are averted. Those of the other figures gaze towards the soldier who can only gaze ahead of himself.

It is suggested that in *Sending off to War* the visual language deployed lends itself to literary interpretation. But, as emphasised throughout this study, it is through the mix of pictorial idioms that Malangatana introduces uncertainties and nuances. The use of brown for the bodies of the women and soldier, along with two undefined figures in the background, together with the use of green for military fatigues all follow a semi-realist logic. Colours used correspond with 'real life'. What then does one make of the prominent use of yellow, especially for the child? Is this, in accordance with Beinart and Schneider, an aesthetic or formalist choice to introduce tonal contrast, or to heighten the expressive value of the work? Or is it evidence of colour being used as a sign to express something less obvious? Yellow, it can be seen, connects the mother to her child, the flower, and to an abstracted torso that, in its resemblance to a face is in itself a composite sign, an observation that cascades to the detail of the breasts that double as eyes. This seemingly incidental presence in the background can also be seen, in its emphatically swollen belly, to reinforce the theme of motherhood. All uses of yellow in this painting point to the child as key to the meaning of the painting. If we recall the use of yellow in works dealing with themes of assimilation, a series of provocative questions arise: does the choice of colour introduce the allusion of transgression that gives rise to something new? And if so, is this a metaphor for the violence of the war that becomes necessary for a new tomorrow? In provoking this line of thought, the child becomes a polemic sign, a site of uncertainty, redolent with significations.

Green Gun (*Arma Verde*), 1962. Oil on canvas, 122 x 183cm.
Coll: Artist's estate.
Source: *CasaComum.org*, http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_116066

Green Gun (1962) does not provide a narrative structure in the mode of *Sending off to War* or *The Porter*. As in *Sending off to War*, the soldier is likely to be read instantly as a Frelimo combatant, the gun his weapon. These figures of soldiers are not polemic symbols in of themselves, their identities are clear. If they do carry symbolic content, it is, with the former example, the signs of a new, better tomorrow. With the latter example, Malangatana re-introduces ambiguity, with the polemic sign re-appearing in the form of the semi-skeletal, naked figure. One arm carries the gun, evidence of his destructive capacity (and signs are that this is not a female combatant), whereas the other hand is dismembered, signalling the prospect of severe injuries or death. This allusion to the risks to life and limb, coupled with the chaotic background, suggests a sober assessment of war, and a reticence to engage with romantic or nationalist conventions of the anti-colonial soldier as hero.

The two examples discussed above underscore the observation that Malangatana commonly resorts to different pictorial conventions within single works. While patterns can be observed, demonstrating strong tendencies within particular works or at particular historical phases, his use of divergent visual idioms cannot be conveniently slotted into a linear stylistic progression. Rather, he deployed a range of approaches from his rich visual vocabulary as and when these choices made sense to him within the context of a particular picture.

Some of the most overtly politicised content of all of Malangatana's art was made between 1965 and 1966, much of it comprising small drawings that were produced during his imprisonment. It is perhaps not surprising that it is this body of work that the Mário Soares Foundation focused on in their work in archiving Malangatana's *oeuvre*.[914] Soares, a Socialist politician and former Prime Minister and President of post-Salazar, democratic Portugal, was active in the struggle against the Portuguese dictatorship, and played a central role in securing political independence for Mozambique on terms favourable to Frelimo.[915] It follows that the commitment of his Foundation to working specifically with Malangatana, as opposed to providing general support for Mozambican art and artists, served, and continues to serve essentially political interests, namely the consolidation of postcolonial relations informed by a shared anti-colonial struggle.

---

[914] For the digital archive on Malangatana developed by the Soares Foundation, http://casacomum.org/cc/arquivos?set=e_915 . For the catalogue to the exhibition of prison drawings see Caldeira and André op.cit.

[915] MacQueen op.cit. P.133.

Pavilion 9 of PIDE's Machava Prison
(*Pavilhão 9 da Cadeia da PIDE na Machava*), 1965.
Pen and ink on paper, 41 x 44.5cm.
Source: *CasaComum.org*, http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_115757

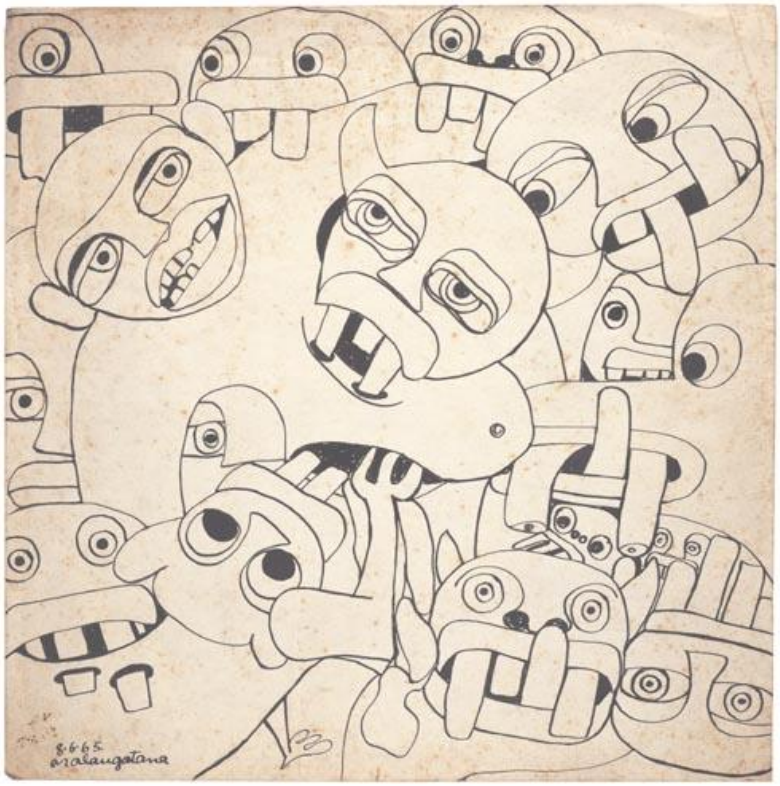
Malangatana's prison drawings manifest a range of approaches to representation. Notably these include works that deploy narrative and symbolic devices in ways that their meaning is fairly easy to interpret, didactic even.[916] Works with strong narrative elements detail the

[916] This perhaps explains the attraction of these works to literary scholars, notably in Brazil. See C.L.T. Ribeiro Secco, "Vertigens, Labirintos e Alteridades em José Craveirinha e Malangatana Valente". Rio de Janeiro: *Terceira Margem*, v.8, 2003, pp.7-26; C.L.T. Ribeiro Secco, "Craveirinha e Malangatana: Cumplicidade e correspondência entre as artes". Belo Horizonte: *Scripta*, v.6 n.12, 2003, pp.350-367; and V.R. de Oliveira Ribeiro op.cit. A notable feature of these writings is that Malangatana's jail drawings are used as a foil for the authors' primary subject, Craveirinha.

harsh conditions of imprisonment. Cramped cells, poor ablution facilities, and hunger are among the themes vividly realised. These works frequently apply symbolic or metaphorical means that are easy to interpret, such as birds, cages, padlocks, skulls, and flowers. Some of these drawings, like *Pavilion 9* (1965) serve a documentary function. In this instance, the drawing records over-crowded cells where inmates have to take turns to sleep. In *Cell Punishment* (1965), the artist's focus is on giving visual form to the physical and psychological experience of solitary confinement.

Punishment Cell I (*Cela Disciplinar*), 1965.
Ink on paper, 43 x 31cm.
Coll: J. Navarro estate. Source: Navarro op.cit.

Not all the prison drawings are overtly political. Some apply elements of fantasy, implying the need to envision and engage with the outside world. Of particular interest are a series of erotic images that use sex to evoke thetenderness and sensuality denied in prison, while clearly situating their subjects within the confines of the prison (see *Dreams of Love in prison* series discussed earlier). Many of these works contain references to the act of being watched, a common experience in repressive conditions of colonial Mozambique where, especially during the PIDE years, surveillance and informers were a constant threat.



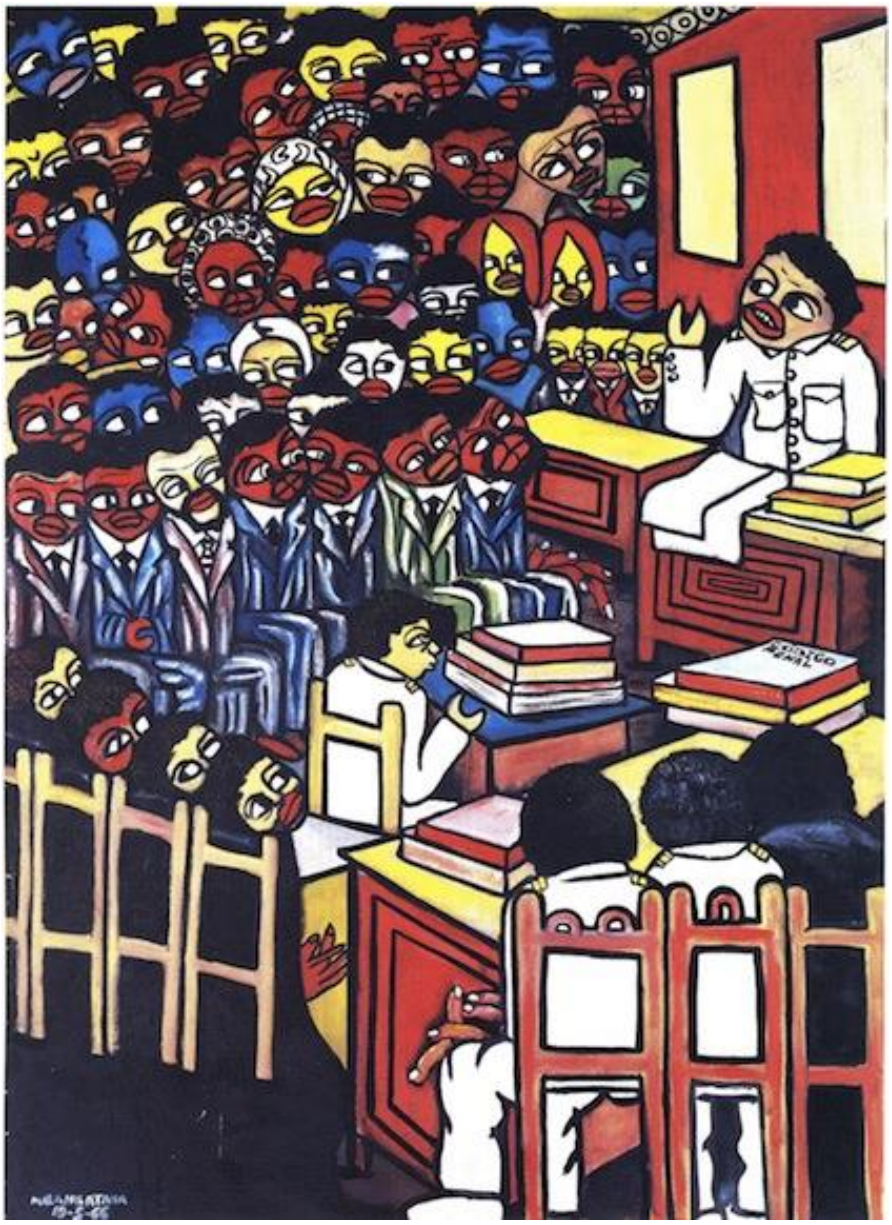
Untitled,[917] 1965. Ink on paper, 43.5 x 43.3cm.
Coll: Artist's estate.
Source: *CasaComum.org*, http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_115682

[917] The title is given as "Devoragem" by Caldeira and André, op.cit. P.12. This word appears to not exist in Portuguese.

Other prison drawings depict monsters devouring humans, or, as is common in Malangatana's art, blur the distinction between monsters and humans. Later, Malangatana would refer to his use of monsters as symbolic devices to criticise colonialism.[918] This highlights the difficulties in isolating themes and signs as 'mythological' or 'political'. Certainly, the *context* of this body of work has tended to assign the theme of incarceration to all works produced in jail, whereas some may address broader themes.

Unambiguously political, Malangatana's *Trial of the Frelimo Militants* (1966) is one of his rare paintings where, rather than dealing with a theme over a number of works and across time, he constructed a self-contained narrative. Painted shortly after his release from prison, it is uncertain whether this work refers directly to the trial of the artist and his co-accused. The image corresponds stylistically to many of Malangatana's paintings, but in its didactic narrative it is in many respects an atypical work. Figures are grouped in clusters, a compositional technique that emphasises distinctions between those on trial, those instrumental in the legal persecution of the militants, and those supportive of the militants. While there may be some ambiguity, as with the four figures shown seated in the bottom left of the work, where it is unclear if these are militants, judicial staff, or even members of the public; on the whole these three groups are clearly distinguishable from each other. This differentiation contrasts with most of Malangatana's work where the line

[918] Vieira op.cit. p.40.



Trial of the Frelimo Militants
(O Julgamento dos Militantes da Quarta Região
da Frente de Libertação de Moçambique), 1966.
Oil on canvas, 169 x 122cm.
Coll: Dr. Almeida Santos. Source: Navarro, 2003, op.cit.

between victims and perpetrators is less apparent, or not there at all.

Once again, Malangatana's use of colour provokes us to think of race. Here one can distinguish between the multiple colours characterising both the militants and

the *povo* (people), a strategy that, beyond aesthetics, signifies the multi-racial character of the revolutionary forces. In contrast the legal functionaries, mostly dressed in white uniforms, are all accorded the same light brown colour. These figures, all male, are depicted with hairstyles that range from curly to quasi-Afro. The choice of colour and hair suggests that these figures are mulattos. This is a pointed intervention on the part of the artist. He does not represent the judge, scribe and orderlies as Portuguese, choosing instead to refer to the small class of mixed-race Mozambicans that colluded with the Portuguese in their oppression of the majority. This is a continuation of a theme evident in much of his earlier work (as elaborated on in the previous section on assimilation).

25 September (25 de Setembro), 1968.
Oil on canvas, 122 x 158cm.
Coll: Artist's estate. Source: Navarro, 2003, op cit.

Malangatana's infrequent tendency to commemorate specific events can be seen in a few paintings from the anti/colonial period. His painting *25 September* (1968) refers to the formation of Frelimo. One of the striking features of the work is the limited differentiation of physical characteristics. Apart from one figure, bottom left, with fair, wavy hair (and perhaps not incidentally the only figure shown in profile), all the other figures are shown frontally and are variations on a single type. They appear to all be male, have reddish brown complexions, and cropped, typically 'African' hair. This suggests a racial homogeneity entirely out of step with the foundational myths of Frelimo as a culturally diverse organisation. The figures are heavily armed, with rifles, machetes and knifes. One figure is being stabbed in the head by the comparative 'outsider' in the bottom corner. The same victim is also being stabbed in the mouth by a figure reaching from behind. Another figure has a large knife stuck in the crown of his head, yet another has been stabbed in the arm, and one has a prominent plaster on the crown of his head, stuck in the shape of a cross. Teeth, fang-like in some instances, are used to accentuate the feeling of ferocity and danger. If these figures operate as polemic signs, then this is very close to the realm of the racist, colonial stereotyped image of freedom fighters as barbarous terrorists (possibly Makonde, who earned the reputation as being the most ferocious of Frelimo's combatants). It is unclear what Malangatana aimed to achieve with this image, other than to reproduce stereotypes in order to frighten his colonial public.[919] And what should be made of Malangatana

[919] Malangatana was in fact questioned in 1971 by PIDE about the meaning of this painting, which they interpreted as expressing black

choosing to sign his name on the knife of the solitary 'individual' identified earlier? Is this an act of distancing himself, whilst simultaneously affirming his social capital as dangerous? Would the average Frelimo combatant or Makonde warrior recognise themselves in this picture? As with *Green Gun*, we have seen the artist's reluctance to deploy heroic conventions. But in attempting to tackle this subject did he transgress the expectations of a Mozambican nationalist to the point of aligning his vision with that of racist colonial stereotypes?

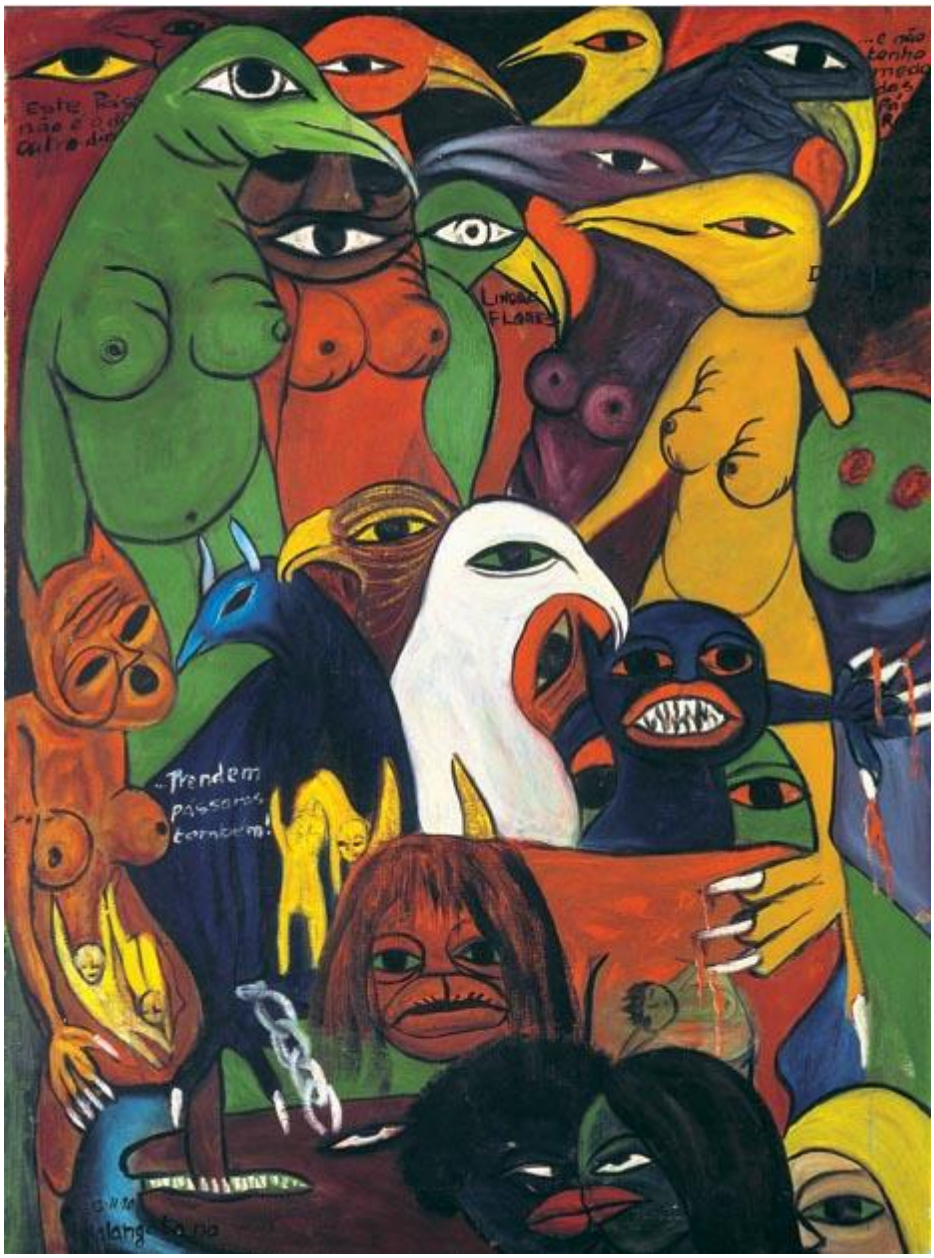
First Signs (*Primeiros Sinais*), 1964.
Oil on board, 121.5 x 184cm.
Coll: Artist's estate.
Source: *CasaComum.org*, http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_116050

An awkwardness with commemorative themes is evident in the painting *First Signs* (1964). The title, date and imagery affirm that this work commemorates the start of

anger at the same moment that attacks were beginning in the north of the country. Caldeira and André op.cit. P.81.

the armed struggle. There is an almost cartoon-like representation of a shot being fired into the back of a yellow-skinned male. This figure appears to be either raping or copulating with a dark blue skinned female. The racial and sexual identities of these two figures are fairly explicit, although the nature of their interaction as coercive or consensual is not. There is a clichéd treatment of the background, with stylised faces crammed into every space, and all in all the work is principally of interest because of its purportedly commemorative function. Together with *25 September*, this painting highlights the difficulties Malangatana had in dealing with heroic themes.

With Malangatana's painting *They Arrest Birds Too* (1970), the title makes clear the commentary on political suppression, as does the insertion of a chain. A devilish figure with conventional signs of identification (horned and red) and skull introduces the analogies of evil and danger. The prominent use of birds in this context, with birds often being associated with freedom, contributes to the clarity of the content of this work as an expression of incredulity and protest. But in other aspects this is typical Malangatana - signs are coded and ambivalent. The hybrid fusion of bird heads and women's bodies affirm the association of birds and women that is often intimated in the artist's works, but the use of feminine attributes (notably breasts) for the devil complicates the positioning of binaries wherein innocence and pacificity would be assigned a feminine identity and hostility male. Indeed, there are no details that suggest male presence in the work. There is also a bodiless head whose roughly cut mane resembles the artist's depiction of female



They Arrest Birds Too (Prendem Pássaros Também), 1970.
Oil on canvas, 86.5 x 65cm.
Coll: Artist's estate. Source: Navarro, 2003, op cit.

sorcerers in *A Divination Scene* (1962, discussed earlier). The presence of horns conflates the identities of witch and devil. The birds appear to be protecting an enigmatic figure that is in part ferocious, in part comical, perhaps in the mode of his resort to quasi-stereotypes in the depiction of warriors in *25 September* (1968, discussed above). Menace is also implied by the

crocodile-like figure at the bottom. The artist's family name, *Ngwenya*, translates as crocodile in the local language, and the inclusion of crocodiles in the artist's lexicon is usually self-referential, here serving to express his anger and menace towards colonialism. The work epitomises Malangatana's aesthetic: a mix of decipherable signs and others more ambiguous, with the indefinable aspects serving to introduce an unsettling edge to what could, in other hands, have been an entirely legible political cartoon.

Cry of Freedom (*O Grito da Liberdade*), 1973.
Oil on board, 120 x 304cm.
Coll: Artist's Estate.
Source: *CasaComum.org*, http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_115924

Cry of Freedom (1973) continues the trope of politically legible titles accompanied by dense imagery, with only a few details, such as the chain, being easily understood. In its evocation of chaos, the work resembles some of the artist's early dystopian scenes but with the notable absence of his assimilationist signs. Produced in the late colonial period, when Portuguese atrocities were on the ascent,[920] the work contains many features that become prominent in the postcolonial period. These include the

[920] Houser and Shore op.cit. P.61.

visibility accorded to identifiably African women, and early examples of some of the signs it is argued later form part of his armoury to temper the dystopia of the Civil War (such as the use of arcs and horizons, here placed near the top of the painting), signifying the remote prospects for the cessation of conflict that is expressively visualised in the work.

5.4 Tempering Dystopia: imaging the Civil War

Hypothesis: The postcolonial dystopia exemplified by the Civil War is reflected in a different constellation of signs from that of the anti/colonial period. The dystopian works of this period elude overt narrative devices and side-step specific references, offering a generalised response to the suffering of the Mozambican people that is in step with universalist tendencies in the artist's work. The dystopian vision is tempered by signs, often remote, that allude to hope.

5.4.1 Dystopian currents

A dystopian current permeates Malangatana's aesthetics. This can be interpreted as a response to a sequence of unsettled episodes within his immediate and broader social and political environment. His socialisation into dystopia began in his rural childhood, growing up with a largely absent migrant father and a mother whose mental instability introduced him to the practices of traditional healers, profoundly marking much of his art. It continued through his exposure to colonial injustices, manifesting in a body of polemic signs that reflect intense contestation with colonial subjection. His

experiences of dystopia extended through the horrors of a bitter postcolonial civil war, and the collapse of a utopian vision for Mozambique. Through all of these dystopian settings, Malangatana used his art to mediate trauma and to make sense of his environment.

Malangatana's art displays little utopian impulse. Christian themes are of Hell, not of Heaven. He painted the Crucifixion and Last Supper, themes of betrayal and martyrdom, and not the miracles of Jesus. When he was called to use his art to fight colonialism he was largely resistant to romanticised or heroic narratives. If the artist is a storyteller, as Couto maintained,[921] these are not stories with happy endings.

Malangatana's paintings from the period of the Civil War can be interpreted in relation to that traumatic period. However, the immediate challenge to this line of enquiry is that the artist produced few works whose themes can be categorically assigned to the Civil War. Two of these, *Accounts of the Fifteen-Year War* (1992) and *Even the Boy Returned* (1995) were produced *after* the war. Nonetheless, it is clear that shifts in his articulation of a dystopian aesthetics can be identified by examining works produced during the Civil War. In general, the following observations can be made:

i) Most of the elements that contribute to a dystopian aesthetic in Malangatana's early works remained part of the artist's formal language. This can be seen in his use of multiple focal points, multi-directional lines,

[921] Couto, 1998, op.cit. P.12.

fragmentation of shapes, densely packed compositions, and shallow pictorial space. The most noticeable shift is in his use of colour. The discordant vibrancy of bold, often clashing colours gave way to more restrictive palettes, quasi-monochromatic, generating more sombre or reflective moods.

ii) The diversity of polemic signs from the anti/colonial period gave way to a more limited range. The Christian references disappeared entirely, as did the *feiteceiro* and *femme fatale*. The heterogeneity of cultural 'types' (racial, social or professional) diminished. These tropes were *not* replaced by what may seem to be obvious choices, i.e. the chief protagonists and actors in the Civil War (politicians, soldiers, bandits, bankers and others behind the scenes) did not appear. Instead, a far more homogenous, generic figure of wo/man became dominant. These figures are typically set in nature with the earth, water, fires, animal and plant life becoming generic settings for conflict.

iii) Violence and its aftermath remained a central preoccupation of the artist. Works continued to express discordant states of mind (e.g. despair, anxiety, trauma, anguish, horror and loss). These are, however, frequently tempered by signs of hope.

5.4.2 Destabilising signs: imaging the Civil War

Examples of works produced during the Civil War are considered below. In two of these, *Where Are My Mother, My Brothers, and All the Others?*[922] and *Cry of the Mother*, both from 1986, a combination of the titles, the dystopian aesthetic, and a knowledge of the social and political context prevailing in Mozambique at the time *suggest* that these works were produced in response to the Civil War.[923] This discussion is extended to other works from the Civil War (1979-1992). These works reveal that nature increasingly provided the material for new metaphors and polemic signs.

Where Are My Mother, My Brothers, and All the Others? displays some consistencies with earlier works, but also introduces new features that are particular to the work. The congested composition, populated by figures that have both human and animal forms, and shallow pictorial space are all elements that can be traced back to the artist's early works, and indeed remained characteristic of his aesthetic throughout his career. The use of red as a dominant colour was a comparatively new development in his work, and can be seen in two works of the preceding year, *Across the River* (1985, discussed below) and *The Sacred Well* (1985, discussed in the following section). A pronounced use of red has always been a feature of

---

[922] "Mother" features initially in the ttle of this work, but in later instances we find it replaced by "parents". For examples of the former see Carvalho et al. Op.cit. P154; and Navarro, 2003, op.cit. For the latter see Aresta op.cit. P.35; Vieira op.cit. P.41; and *CasaComum.org* op.cit.

[923] Malangatana specifically cites *Where are…* as a work produced in response to the Civil War. Vieira op.cit. P.41.

Where Are My Mother, My Brothers, and All the Others? (*Onde Está a Minha Mãe, os Meus irmãos e Todos os Outros?*), 1986.
Oil on canvas, 200 x 232cm.
Coll: Artist's estate.
Source: *CasaComum.org*, http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_116143

Malangatana's art, although in earlier works it tends to be accompanied by equally vibrant yellows, blues, greens, as well as stark white, an observation that can also be made of his use of colour in *The Sacred Well*. However, in *Where Are My Mother…* there is a much more restrictive palette. Yellows, whites, and (to a lesser extent) blues, are present but are mostly muted by red. Even the red, in parts, is subdued, at least by Malangatana's standards, giving it an earthiness.

Malangatana's forms tend towards being clearly defined, sometimes delineated through the use of colour or outline, often black. Here forms are blurred, with black used sparingly to suggest shadows and depth. The tonal range is restricted, with white highlights scattered across the surface, notably to illuminate beaks and eyes. But mostly the white, like the red, is subdued. White accentuates the cross-legged child at the top of the painting. The prominence of this figure, together with its hand raised as if peering into the distance, suggests that it may be read as the central figure whose utterances are those of the painting's title.[924]

The child is positioned with its head offset by an undulating arc that is painted in red. This arc is a visual device that became prominent in his work during the early 1980s, as can be seen in *The Child, That Hope* (1981, see following section).[925] On a formal level, the use of undulating arcs, often assigned monochromatic values, introduces a sense of pictorial depth by contrasting with the congested picture plane. Iconographically, this sign alludes to a rising sun, or suns, and sometimes the moon, or a combination of the two. But it also, at times, appears to allude to a mother's breasts. The sun, moon and the mother's breast/s are symbols that refer to natural cycles, and while the

[924] This interpretation is confirmed by the artist, who refers to this painting as "that picture where the child is found alone in the woods screaming 'where are my parents …'" Ibid. (My translation). The artist's reference to the "woods" suggests that he began with a specific idea, but has abstracted it, there being no sign of woods in the painting.

[925] Malangatana's mural at the Museum of Natural History (1978-1980) includes the use of the sun as an abstracted sign, placed in a manner similar to his subsequent use of undulating arcs.

sun and moon are commonly used as opposites, the sun/moon and breast can all be associated with growth, cultivation and nurturing. In this respect the arc, especially when positioned at the top of the image, represents a composite sign for these values. This sign is often introduced into discordant, dystopian settings where its essentially positive signification contrasts with the prevailing mood. It is in this sense that the *tempering* of dystopia is referred to – introducing a promise of positive change in a situation where negative forces prevail.

In *Where Are my Mother…* the arc (son/moon/breast) is repeated alongside. However, consistent with the muting of colours and shapes in the rest of the painting, the second form is tempered by a painterly, textural white. A peculiar visual sign appears in the muted arc, possibly alluding to teeth that usually indicate menace, threat and danger, but which are notably subdued in this painting. One can identify the positioning of the child's head where a nipple would be, although this child who searches for its mother appears unable to detect this presence. Between the two 'breasts' there is a figure with another on its back, resembling a mother carrying its child, or if not carrying then protecting the smaller figure behind her. All these details reinforce the theme elucidated in the title.

The gestural treatment of paint between the legs of the child may allude to sexual violation. This is suggested by an ape-like figure with a large phallus diagonally opposite the child, towards the bottom of the painting. This bestial figure appears to be emitting a fluid, possibly semen, onto the ground, as if the earth itself

is being defiled. There is thus a binary implied between male aggression and female nurturing. Two of the bird figures are in close proximity to this figure – one is behind him and clearly witness to this sexual transgression. Composite bird/people are sometimes assigned feminine status in Malangatana's paintings and their proximity to the child suggests the comforting role traditionally associated with mothers and sisters.

Malangatana has often used eyes to suggest being watched. Here the figures directly behind the ape-man are witness to his transgression, as are the figures discretely positioned to the right and left of the image, but mostly eyes are absent or cast elsewhere. This observation also applies to the second bird behind the ape-like figure, who casts a protective wing around the undefined forms in front of it, while concertedly gazing elsewhere. This idea of simultaneously seeing and not is given graphic treatment in a figure towards the top left who appears to be entering a cave with their back towards the spectator, except that their head is facing the 'wrong' way, and is almost skull-like.

In this work Malangatana gives visual expression to horrors lived, seen, heard and learned of, horrors so despicably unmentionable that naming them or visualising them through realistic means is too traumatic to contemplate. In the artist's words: "I've seen, many times, three hundred people die in one hour. And so, how can I explain – by painting – this kind of situation?"[926] Eschewing didacticism, the work mediates knowledge of the

[926] J. Farrell, "Malangatana". San Diego, CA: *Arete*, v.2 n.5, 1990, p.58.

The Cry of the Mother (O Grito de Mãe), 1986.
Oil on canvas, 197 x 232cm.
Coll: Musart.
Source: *CasaComum.org*, http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_116172

Civil War by enacting a humanistic visual language that speaks to the horror and anguish that lends itself to both a particularistic and universalised reading, depending on the position of the viewer.

Cry of the Mother (1986) bears comparison with *Where are my Mother….* This is not only due to the reference to motherhood in the title and the shared date, but also in the congested picture plane, muted palette, and the composite signs of sun/moon/breast at the top of the painting. However, unlike the previous example, there are two contenders for the central figure in this painting. In the top left there is a strident female figure, with a knife pointing between her breasts. There is also a

slightly off-centre seated woman, positioned in the lower part of the painting. This second figure has a nozzle-like entity pressed against her chin. The iconographic references to weapons, especially the knife (which resembles those in the painting *25 September* from 1968), provide the only explicit reference to violence and armed conflict.

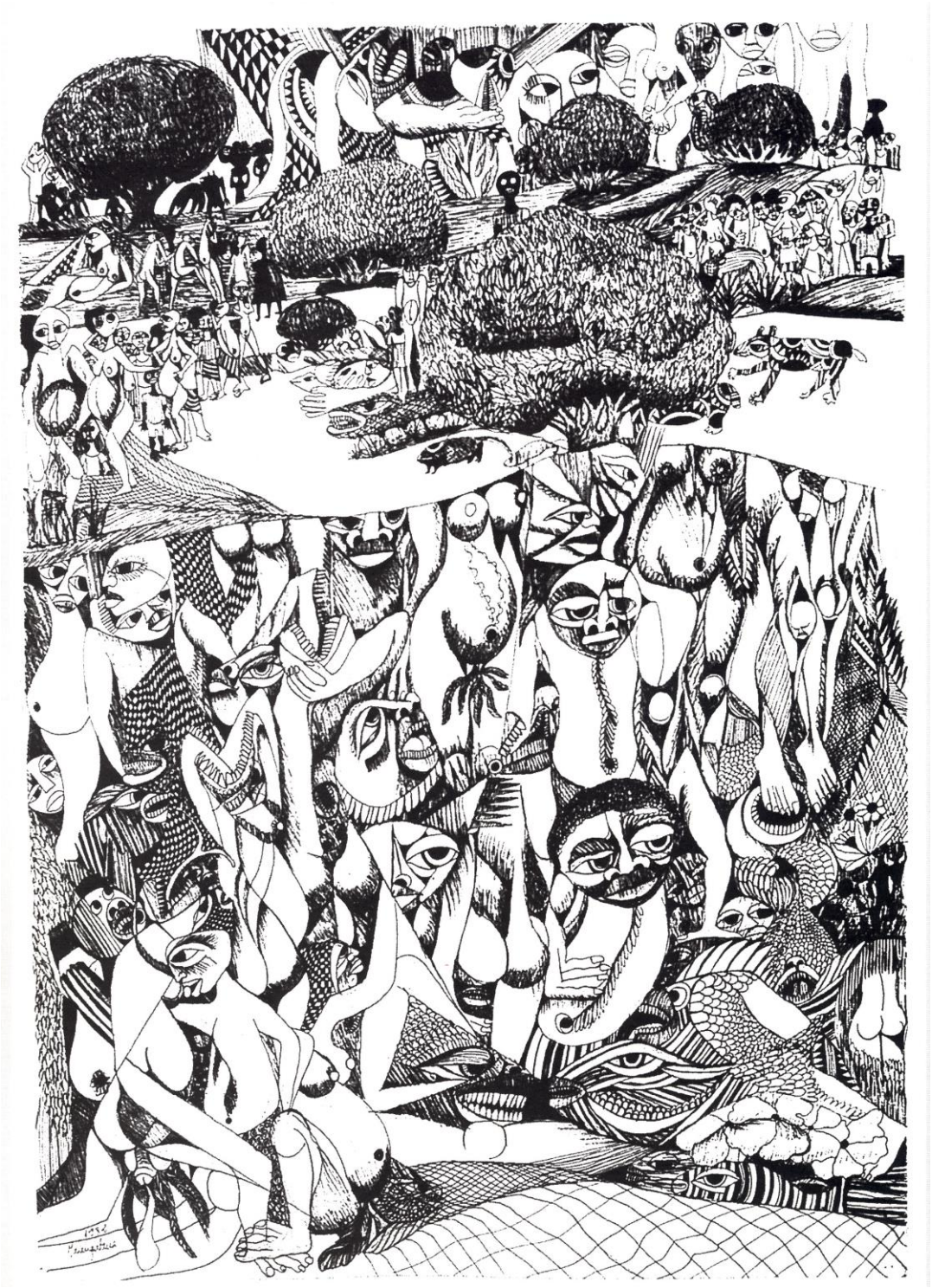
The idea of the mother operative in this painting can be read at various levels. It can stand for an individual character, a single mother, and it is clear that the artist's mother was a hugely influential figure in his life. But it is more likely that collective significations are at work. 'Mother' can stand collectively for women, Mozambican or global. It may refer to the nation, torn apart by war. It may represent Mother Africa, and be a reflection on conflicts across the continent of Africa. And it can stand for the earth as mother, violated by humans. All of these readings are concurrently apparent. There is a sense of collective identity and destiny operative here, with mother (in all her collective significations) a sign for nature.

This reading is supported by the earthy tones of the painting and the use of landscape as both metaphor and polemic sign. *Cry of the Mother* repeats the undulating arc forms that appear at the top of the work, placing these to the right of the painting. But here the allusion is to pits or caves, which are crammed with human, animal, and hybrid forms. It is a common feature of Malangatana's dystopian aesthetic that the horrors depicted are not contained within the picture frame, they spill over as if to continue in real life. This is particularly marked here, with the semi-circular shapes

suggesting that we are only seeing half of the 'picture'. One recalls the idea of the bottomless pit of *Abyss of Sin*, but without the moral judgement that came with the plethora of Christian signs.

It can be observed that both *Cry of the Mother* and *Where are my Mother…* use strong diagonals. These evoke descent, but these slopes can also be read as ascents - the way into the pit is also the way out. The use of natural elements associated with the earth (e.g. caves, ditches, slopes) is a feature of the artist's evolving lexicon, operating in the spaces between and beyond metaphor and polemic sign. These signs are more understated than the ambivalent figures of the *feiteceiro* or *femme fatale*, but can also generate ambiguous significations – do we read slopes as ascending or descending, and caves as shelters or ominous recesses?

Quicksand, a drawing from 1981, alludes to the idea of sinking, of being swallowed by the earth. The image represents below and above-ground activity. Scale is used to present the above-ground activity as remote, with trees suggesting growth. The work includes a horizon but it is one that, for the most part, is as densely populated as the lower part of the composition. The drawing includes a few empty spaces, notably accentuating space on the horizon, especially at the margins. Earlier I noted the artist's tendency to 'spill over' beyond the limits of the image. Accordingly, the opening up of space at the parameters of the composition is not incidental, as it suggests remote, but visible, prospects for tranquillity. In a war zone, this use of distant space can be read as the promise of peace. Depth is accentuated



Quicksand (*Terra Movediça*), 1981. Ink on paper, 59 x 28cm.
Coll: Artist's estate. Source: Navarro, 2003, op.cit.

through the use of scale, with the smaller figures presented on the horizon. Pictorial space is used to communicate a sense of temporal distance, notably a future that is in sight.

Across the River (*Do outro Lado do Rio*), 1985.
Oil on canvas, 110 x 119cm.
Coll: Artist's estate. Source: Navarro, 2003, op.cit.

In *Across the River* (1985) we see yet another heavily congested scene, populated by humans (mostly naked or barely clad) intermingled with numerous four-legged animals and birds. The animals are generalised, with the exception of one bovine beast, and some of the figures are hybrids. There is no distinction between the situation of people and animals.[927] The river is the most defined visual element in the painting, its colour a bold red. It is tempting to read this as a river of blood, largely because of its colour.[928] The prominence of the river as a natural element contrasts with the absence of plant life, and there is not a drop of blue or green. The river divides the composition horizontally and also extends vertically. On the distant bank there is a sense

[927] Malangatana attributed the inclusion of both people and animals in his works to his rural upbringing. Vieira op.cit. P.42.

[928] Malangatana acknowledges the association of red with violence, although he also points out that he uses red for "romantic scenes". Ibid. (My translation)

of less congestion, but there is no dramatic contrast, and thus it does not communicate any significant change from the foreground. If anything, the trickster-like activity on the far bank, coupled with what resembles a giant stylised crocodile, introduces menace. Some of the figures on the far bank have their teeth visible, in much more muted form than teeth in the images of colonial hell, but teeth nonetheless, unlike the multitude in the foreground where, beaks aside, not a tooth is in sight. These small signs suggest that the remote setting on the other side may well be an unwelcoming space. The limited movements in the foreground, generally communicated through short diagonals or arches, interrupt but do not break the overwhelmingly claustrophobic scene. There are no paths out of the morass, and the absence of boats or figures in the river, as well as lack of river vegetation suggest its inhospitability for an escape. Even the birds are grounded. This is an image that offers no hope. It expresses an overwhelming resignation, with most figures standing or sitting, as if waiting endlessly for something.

Disturbances in the Forest (1987) maintains the limited palette characteristic of works of this period. In other respects this is a dynamic image. Sweeping arches, diagonals, and chevrons fracture the picture plane. Birds, strange elephant-like creatures, and spirit-forms jostle for attention. As in *Across the River* the reference to a natural element (here the forest) is not matched by the presence of plant life. Perhaps the disturbance is so tumultuous that this forest no longer consists of trees. More likely, the forest (like the river) is an idea. It signifies a natural space, its

Disturbances in the forest (*Perturbações na Floresta*), 1987.
Oil on canvas, 93 x 153cm.
Coll: Artist's estate.
Source: *CasaComum.org*, http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_115845

disturbance implies the disruption of an organic order. It also signifies a natural force, with its own fonts of power and logic. It is a reminder of humankind's existence in a world that can be irrational and threatening, but ultimately is the source of life and magic.

5.4.3 On the abstraction of postcolonial dystopia

The use of nature, together with essentialised human forms and hybrid creatures to depict scenes of conflict happens at a time when the countryside is a place of grave danger, with landmines prevalent, rural dwellers forcibly conscripted into Renamo, others having fled to cities, and some forcibly relocated by Frelimo to protected villages. None of this horror features directly

in the paintings of Malangatana. There are perhaps two explanations for this.

The first is that Malangatana's natural cynicism made him wary of overstating his political affiliations in his art. Yes, he was active in Frelimo, but he did not use the stories of atrocities (mostly but not exclusively by Renamo) to determine his imagery. He declined to depict armed conflict between patriotic government soldiers and armed bandits. Rather he resorted to a more abstract language, one empathetic with ordinary people, regardless of political affiliation.

Secondly, from the time of his retrospective exhibition in 1986, Malangatana's international career took off on an unprecedented scale. He was increasingly faced with the challenge of not only being the most celebrated Mozambican artist, but of becoming a great artist. His public had changed, it had become an art literate public that is generally wary of propagandist art. This challenge fed his humanist, universalist tendencies. Consequently, real conflicts, specific cruelties and violations are abstracted even further. The use of bestial beings, hybrid humans and the like serve to express a generic human condition that is abstracted and lacking in narrative detail. This does not make his paintings less powerful, but it does mean that they operate at a level far different to that which informed his painting during the anti/colonial period, when his primary public was Mozambican, and when there was a challenge to adapt a Eurocentric idiom (easel painting) in ways that could communicate to a broad local public that was, generally, not well versed in matters of art history and visual literacy.

5.4.4 The end of the war, and signs of a tomorrow

The title and dating of *Accounts of the Fifteen-Year War* suggests that this work was produced in response to the National Peace Accord (1992). This painting can therefore be linked to the pattern of intermittent commemorative works produced by the artist, often in response to recent historic events. The Accord was brokered, in significant part, by church representatives and their absence in his iconography suggests that, beyond the assimilationist trope discussed earlier, Malangatana had little interest in incorporating Christian signs into his work.[929] Instead there is a generic lexicon where animals, beasts and hybrid derivatives are dominant. Red remains prominent, but there is also a full spectrum of primary and secondary colours, along with white and black. Consistent with the artist's tendency to make his commemorative works more legible to a broad public, we find some of his visual signs being deployed in literal ways. The most obvious of these is the presence, in the central foreground, of two forms, with teeth highlighted, snarling at each other. There is a devil-like horned figure lurking at the edges, and a rising sun. These signs all express the idea of conflict and a new era. Other signs also become easier to read. The association of women and earth implicit in his images of postcolonial dystopia is visualised more explicitly, through the insertion of a reclining feminine body to evoke hills in

[929] There were numerous instances of church representatives protesting Portuguese atrocities between 1971 and 1974. These included the self-closure of missions, reports to the press, and protests from the Vatican. Reprisals included arrests of Prebyterian and Catholic clerics and the expulsion of the Portuguese Bishop in Nampula. Houser and Shore op.cit. P.61.

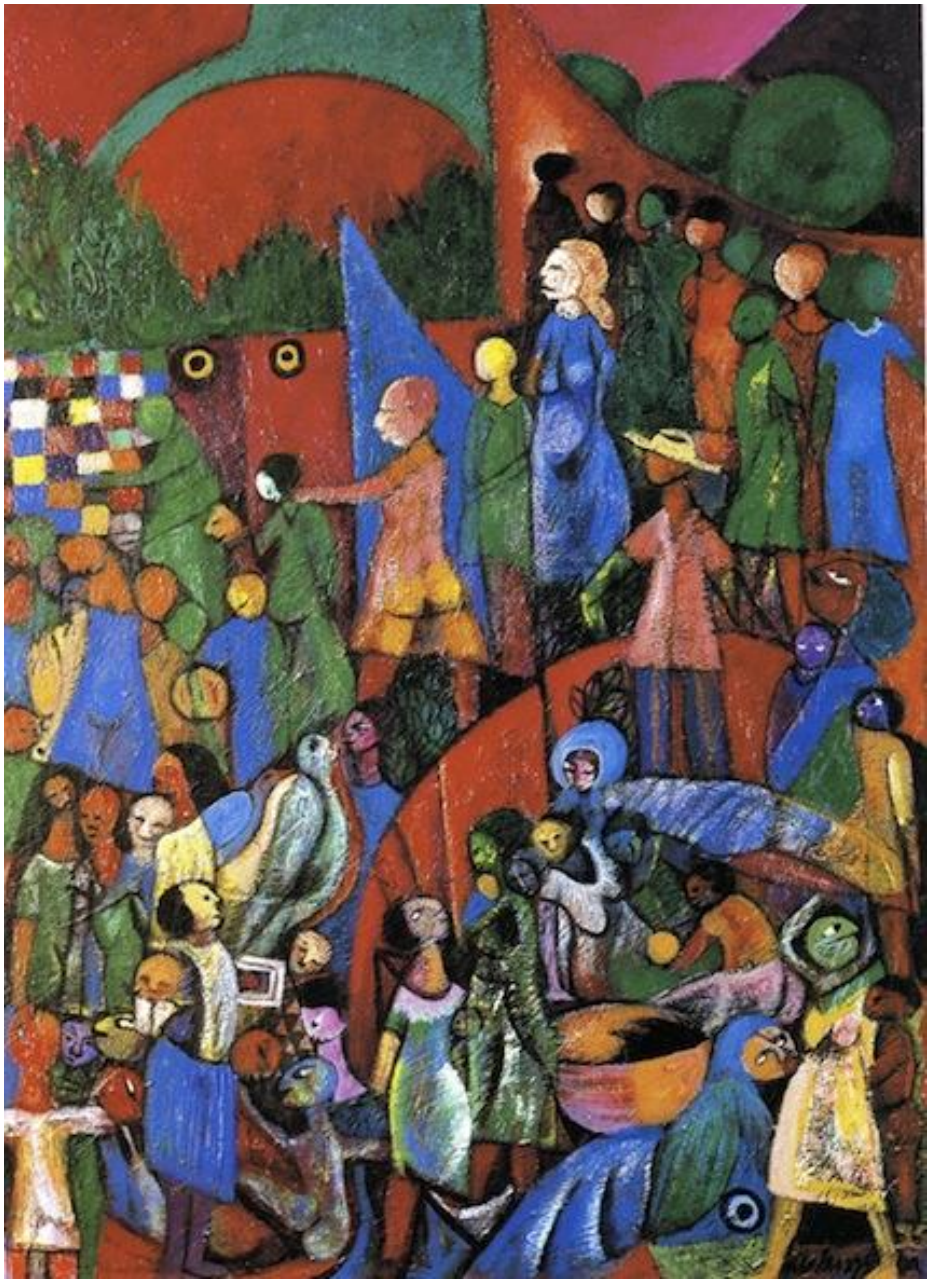
Accounts of the Fifteen-Year War
(Relatos do Tempo da Guerra dos 15 Anos), 1992.
Acrylic on canvas, 131 x 156cm.
Coll: Artist's estate. Source: Navarro, 2003, op.cit.

the distance. The unambiguous reference to the sun, albeit stylised, deserves comment. Its definition as a sun is aided by its placement beyond the hill-like forms, and its inversion as sign from the customary method of being 'dropped in' from above. A close look at the sky shows that it was initially painted red, with yellow boldly overlaid and traces of the red still evident. This creates the impression of a warm, even hot sky, with yellow introducing a brightness that is lighter in tone than the customary red. The use of yellow overlays extends to the foreground, where orange is revealed as an optical illusion arising from yellow spread thinly over red, and green appears to be the result of yellow over

blue. It also appears as if purple is the product of red over blue. These transformative elements, where two colours produce a third, can be interpreted as a metaphor for something new arising from the union of two distinct forces, thus complementing the overall theme. The dynamic treatment of forms in the foreground, with a pronounced use of arches and swirling forms, further contributes to the idea of an organic or regenerative growth emerging from a situation of conflict. The presence of a range of abstract forms act as reminders of uncertainties and unknown forces, alternately as indecision on the part of the artist, but overall there is clear sense of something new and better on its way.

Even the Boy Returned (1995) provides a post-war perspective on the themes addressed in *Where are my Mother…* and *Cry of the Mother*, but this time from the position of the mother who is emblematic of all those parents and families whose children disappeared in the midst of the Civil War.

A notably lighter palette breaks from the monochromatic tendencies that had become dominant in the 1980s. The title introduces the idea of waiting, a theme evident in the figures located top right who stand immobile, facing the unpopulated space towards the left of the work. Only one of these figures, a woman, has delineated facial features. She appears to play the role of the central mother in the narrative. Their collective gaze into the unknown expresses the longing and hope of families and communities to unite with their loved ones lost, either as victims, fugitives or conscripts to a brutal war.



Even the Boy Returned (Até o Menino Voltou), 1995.
Oil on canvas, 113 x 126cm.
Coll: Artist's estate. Source: Navarro, 2003, op.cit.

Below them the artist depicts groups of figures performing diffuse social activities. This semblance of normality is disrupted by a strange female figure, partially clad with buttocks exposed and accentuated with white highlights. With one arm outstretched and resting on the shoulder of an undefined figure, and legs set apart as if in motion, this woman is the most dynamic

figure in the composition, accentuated by a semi-triangular blue plane that both emphasises her form and leads one's eye back to the mother figure. This dynamism is tempered by use of red arcs, reminiscent of the sun/breast signs discussed earlier, but inverted in the manner of the sun in *Accounts of the Fifteen Year war*, although without the rays that define it as a solar sign in that painting. The work communicates a new dawn commensurate with the advent of peace, but this optimism is offset by the sense of loss. Notably, there is no reunion pictured – there is no happy ending. Even the boy who has returned appears to be absent. If there is cause to celebrate it is tempered by the trauma of war.

In all of the works discussed in this section on dystopian aesthetics we find that the use of space tends to contrast a congested, shallow picture plane with hints of a realm beyond. Without exception, it is the foreground that is busiest and occupies most of the image. There is generally very little use of the middle-ground to imply a spatial transition to the distance. *Quicksand* and, to some extent, *Even the Boy Returned*, are exceptions to this rule. A common technique is the use of undulating arcs that are typically situated at the top of the image. In many of the artist's works this is depicted in a flat colour, usually red. As previously noted, this is not only a formal device but a composite sign that introduces allusions to solar signs (sun and/or moon) and female breasts. These significations introduce a positive energy that serves to temper the largely dystopian content and mood of the images. In some images, the looping of these arcs overlaps in function with that of a horizon. As with the sun/moon/breast sign, the horizon is more than a formal device - it acts as a

metaphor for a future. It is perhaps significant that all of these 'tempering' signs seldom announce themselves unambiguously as, for example, 'son' and 'horizon'. It is as if they have to fight to assert their presence. They are transformative devices, signs of emergence, and their sometimes undefined or ambiguous presence is a means of expressing that struggle for change.

5.5 Moçambicanidade

Hypothesis: Malangatana's polemic signs articulate a generic Mozambican and African imaginary that complements hegemonic national narratives. The artist's universalised aesthetic avoids specificities, opening itself up to the critique that he advances the interests of the urban elite – lip service is paid to indigenous culture and the rural masses, while the lack of engagement with specific conditions and issues introduces questions of the relevance of these images for ordinary Mozambicans.

In this section I begin by outlining some key debates about the quest for a national cultural identity, and highlight some of the tropes associated with that discourse. Rather than concentrating on ways in which Malangatana's art can be fitted into these discourses, the focus is moved to an examination of some of the defining features of his postcolonial aesthetic. Attention is drawn to his increasing emphasis on imaging a traditional, non-industrial imaginary, with what I term a homogenising aesthetic. This shift may be interpreted in two contrary ways: as corroborating the political quest for a new society; and as an expression of the alienation of a Mozambican elite from the masses. In this

respect I am providing a contrary set of readings from the hegemonic narrative of the artist as someone rooted in traditional culture, whose art can be viewed as a form of visual anthropology.

5.5.1 Articulating a Mozambican identity: the quest for Moçambicanidade

Mozambican identity owes its inception to the experience of colonialism. Prior to colonialism, no single nation called Mozambique existed. The Portuguese only took full administrative control of the vast territory that is Mozambique in 1920.[930] Prior to that development a range of precolonial polities, of which the Gaza Empire was the most powerful, controlled different parts of what came to be Mozambique.[931] The historical basis of Mozambican nationalism was recognised by Mondlane (who, incidentally, was also born in 1920). He wrote that: "In Mozambique, it was colonial domination which produced the territorial community and created the basis for a psychological coherence, founded on the experience of discrimination, exploitation, forced labour and other aspects of colonial rule."[932]

The search for a Mozambican identity in the arts has precedents in the colonial period.[933] However, this quest only took on a significant character when allied to the broader struggle for a sovereign national identity, i.e.

[930] Houser and Shore op.cit. P.12.

[931] The Gaza empire extended into parts of present-day Zimbabwe, Mozambique and South Africa.

[932] Houser and Shore op.cit. P.16

[933] The quest for a Mozambican identity emerges as a theme in the visual arts in the late 1940s. See Costa, 2005, op.cit. P.163.

when it became part of the anti-colonial discourse. It is to that juncture that the foundational experiences of Mozambican identity are most commonly traced, and notably as part of a literary and cultural movement rather than emanating from conventional political forms of resistance.

According to the Mozambican literary scholar Fátima Mendonça, it is Craveirinha, perhaps the only cultural figure in Mozambique whose stature rivals that of Malangatana, who gave the first expression to this new identity. Mendonça points to *Chamamento*, a poem from 1950, where Craveirinha first articulated a convergence of the geographic identity of Mozambique with the political identity of the new (postcolonial) nation.[934] Craveirinha writes that he "comes from a country that does not yet exist"[935] and rejected the Portuguese efforts to construct luso-tropicalism, by categorically affirming his nationalism, "I am not an overseas Portuguese/ I am Mozambican".[936]

The works of early Mozambican nationalist poets are commonly acknowledged, even among mainstream historians, for their influential role in building a national consciousness. According to Houser and Shore, three themes were prominent in the works of early nationalist poets. They identify these as "the reaffirmation of Africa and its cultural heritage, the sufferings of Black people, and the call to revolt." They note that after the

[934] Mendonça op.cit. P.55.

[935] My translation. In the original, "*venho de um país que ainda não existe*". Ibid. P.56.

[936] My translation. In the original, "não sou luso-ultramarino sou moçambicano". Ibid. P.57.

war began: "Poetry and prose began to deal with the armed struggle and with the shape of the future society as well."[937] They further note that the themes that were first articulated in poetry "found their way into … the paintings of Malangatana … and the new ebony carvings of Makonde sculptors. In the context of struggle, a new literary and artistic tradition was being forged."[938] This phenomenon of articulating a national cultural identity is commonly referred to as *Moçambicanidade*. Recognition of Malangatana's paintings as complementing the work of poets in articulating *Moçambicanidade* is also noted by literary scholars, such as Patrick Chabal.[939]

With Frelimo's leading role in the anti-colonial struggle and its hegemonic status since independence, debates on Mozambican identity were largely centred on Frelimo's vision of the New Society and New Man. However, with *Moçambicanidade*'s roots in a literary movement, literary scholars, journalists and public intellectuals led the debate as to what constitutes Mozambican writing, Mozambican culture and Mozambican identity. This was particularly evident in the 1980s with much public debate about Mozambican literature. A notable feature of this debate, particularly on the part of literary scholars, was the practice of theorising *from below*, i.e. to closely examine key texts and to extrapolate their *Moçambicanidade* from this analysis rather than to impose abstract values such as patriotism or Frelimo edicts on culture and to look for evidence of such.

---

[937] Houser and Shore op.cit. P.18.

[938] Ibid. P.21.

[939] P. Chabal, with M.P. Augel, D. Brookshaw, A.M. Leite, and C. Shaw, *The Post-colonial Literature of Lusophone Africa*. London: Hurst and Company, 1996, p.40.

Mendonça produced an influential paper in 1984 in which she analysed the work of three prominent poets - Craveirinha, Rui Knopfli and Sergio Veira.[940] According to Mendonça, Craveirinha articulates a nationalist consciousness in the anti-colonial context. In contrast, Knopfli articulates a pessimistic, middle-class anxiety that is wary of the masses, but is Mozambican nonetheless.[941] Veira exemplifies the culture born of the armed struggle, of the unity forged in the anti-colonial war, and the socialist politics of this nationalism.[942] By highlighting three different approaches, and not pronouncing either as more valid, Mendonça validated a diversity of approaches thereby affirming the heterogeneity of Mozambican cultural expression. By assuming the nationalist credentials of these Mozambican writers, Mendonça's argument is akin to Yusuf Grillo's position that Nigerian art is that which is created by a Nigerian.[943]

Mendonça's paper came at a time when the Mozambican revolution was taking the strain of the war and economic reforms were being introduced. Intellectuals who had played a role in the anti-colonial struggle but had not been part of the armed forces had to fight to reclaim

---

[940] Mendonça op.cit. See Note 163 for a summary of circulation of this paper which generated much debate in Mozambique. Several of the responses are collated on *Mozambique.Net*.

[941] Ibid. P.60.

[942] Ibid. P.64

[943] "The contemporary Nigerian artist must accept those influences which are vital to him. It does not matter whether these are drawn from Yoruba sculpture or Picasso paintings… The artist should not worry about the results of these borrowings because the work, if sincere, cannot help but be a Nigerian work since it is created by a Nigerian." Yusuf Grillo in Mount op.cit. P.133.

their standing as revolutionaries, or 'new' Mozambicans. As noted earlier some, like Malangatana, had been sent for re-education. In this sense, literary debates about *Moçambicanidade* were not only matters of cultural concern to an academic elite, but a struggle for political space in the new Mozambique. One can also look to Honwana's validation of Malangatana and Bertina Lopes as emphatically Mozambican,[944] a political endorsement that effectively shielded these artists from the critical scrutiny of overzealous nationalists with expectations of didactic art. Seemingly, of the positions articulated by Mendonça, it is Knopfli's middle-class pessimism that is perhaps the closest to Malangatana since, as discussed earlier in this chapter, the tone and content of his nationalist and revolutionary work was imbued with more ambiguity than didacticism.

A comparatively recent study of five postcolonial Mozambican writers, representing two generations associated with different wars (anti/colonial and post-independence civil war) is of relevance for a positioning of Malangatana as having produced art with strong affinities to mainstream currents of Mozambican literature.[945] Lucílio Manjate highlights three recurring themes:

i) the local/ traditional imaginary;

---

[944] Honwana's role in creating a space for "acculturated" artists (such as Malangatana and others) is discussed in Costa, 2005, op.cit. Pp.301-304.

[945] L. Manjate, "Ungulani Ba Ka Khosa, Mia Couto, Aurélio Furdela, Rogério Manjate e Midó Das Dores "Narrativa e Moçambicanidade: uma ponte possível de afectos entre duas gerações". São Paulo: *Via Atlantica,* n.16, 2011, pp.93-104.

ii) an eschatological discourse; and

iii) incorporation of oral traditions.[946]

The themes identified by Manjate resonate for Malangatana and perhaps partially account for the generally uncritical reception of him as a representative of Mozambican culture. Malangatana's ambiguous relations to indigenous culture and the rural imaginary are central to his art, although perhaps in far more ambivalent ways than how he is customarily portrayed as an anthropologist. While Manjate's reference to oral traditions pertains specifically to literary forms, it is equally of relevance to Malangatana since it is frequently claimed (but not substantiated) that the artist draws significantly on oral sources. The eschatological theme is particularly interesting - according to Manjate, even writers who emerged after the Peace Accord reflect this preoccupation. There are sustained references to violence and death in Malangatana's paintings and one of the challenges of structuring this chapter was in deciding to separate the theme of postcolonial dystopia from Mozambican identity, when, as Manjate attests, the two themes are complementary.

Moçambicanidade is often an internal Mozambican debate, an argument advocating a national consciousness or identity that is primarily directed at a local audience. It is also a way of positioning Mozambican art as unique within a broader global context. This is evident in the

[946] Ibid. P.95.

text by Rhandzarte, written for the catalogue for *9 Artistas de* Moç*ambique* at Expo 92 Seville. Rhandzarte was a pseudonym for an influential collective that included Navarro, Augusto Cabral, Eugênio Lemos (then director of Musart), and, not least, Malangatana.[947] According to Rhandzarte:

> *"Our assertion of this identity, this Mozambicanity, does not claim a different status for our artistic work. We believe it has a place within the current panorama of international art: with many different forms of expression, we bring a contribution with its own specific characteristics."*[948]

These characteristics are "perhaps, not just African but Mozambican".[949] Rhandzarte does not elaborate in much detail in this text, although in tracing the evolution of Mozambican art three key themes are identified: in the early fifties, "although influenced by European ideas [of art]" there emerged "a strong emphasis on social themes, or by introducing visual components from popular tradition into their work … [and in the sixties] the socio-political situation began to admit more open debate and artistic expression."[950] Rhandzarte's formulation is simplistic in its representation of a linear progression from the fifties onwards, and notably silent on the

---

[947] V. Diaz Rivas, "Contemporary Art in Mozambique: Reshaping artistic national canons". Oxon: *Critical Interventions*, v.8, n.2, p.163. Rivas, following Seidman op.cit., states that: "After independence, Malangatana was acclaimed a hero and the new Mozambican state deployed his paintings amid the new triumphalism." Ibid.

[948] Rhandzarte op.cit. P.11.

[949] Ibid.

[950] Ibid. P.9.

postcolonial period, but is nonetheless useful for linking social, anthropological and political impulses as part of a national aesthetic. It is also useful for its emphasis on Mozambican art as being influenced by historical developments. In not rejecting the early phases of Mozambican art Rhandzarte's position acknowledges that contemporary Mozambican art is a synthesis of the settler-colonial origins of modern art in Mozambique and the revolutionary politics of the anti-colonial struggle. In this regard it speaks to the assimilation of old and new to create a new personality, as advocated by Machel, although it differs from Machel's vision in that Rhandzarte's 'old' acknowledges the influences of Western art, whereas Machel's argument for the emergence of new art forms rested on the assumption that the 'old' forms were all products of traditional African culture. Such differences of position reveal that debates about *Moçambicanidade* were not rarefied discourses of little consequence, they constituted a struggle for legitimacy, a struggle for space that, as this example attests, extended beyond the revolutionary period. The cultural politics of decolonisation did not end with the official abandonment of the Revolution.

5.5.2 Malangatana's new aesthetics for a new society

This section focuses on ways in which Malangatana's aesthetics reflect the shift from the anti/colonial to the postcolonial periods. In the preceding section I made remarks to this effect with specific reference to his articulation of a postcolonial dystopian aesthetics. I also highlighted the perspective that experience of the war was central to Mozambican identity. It thus follows

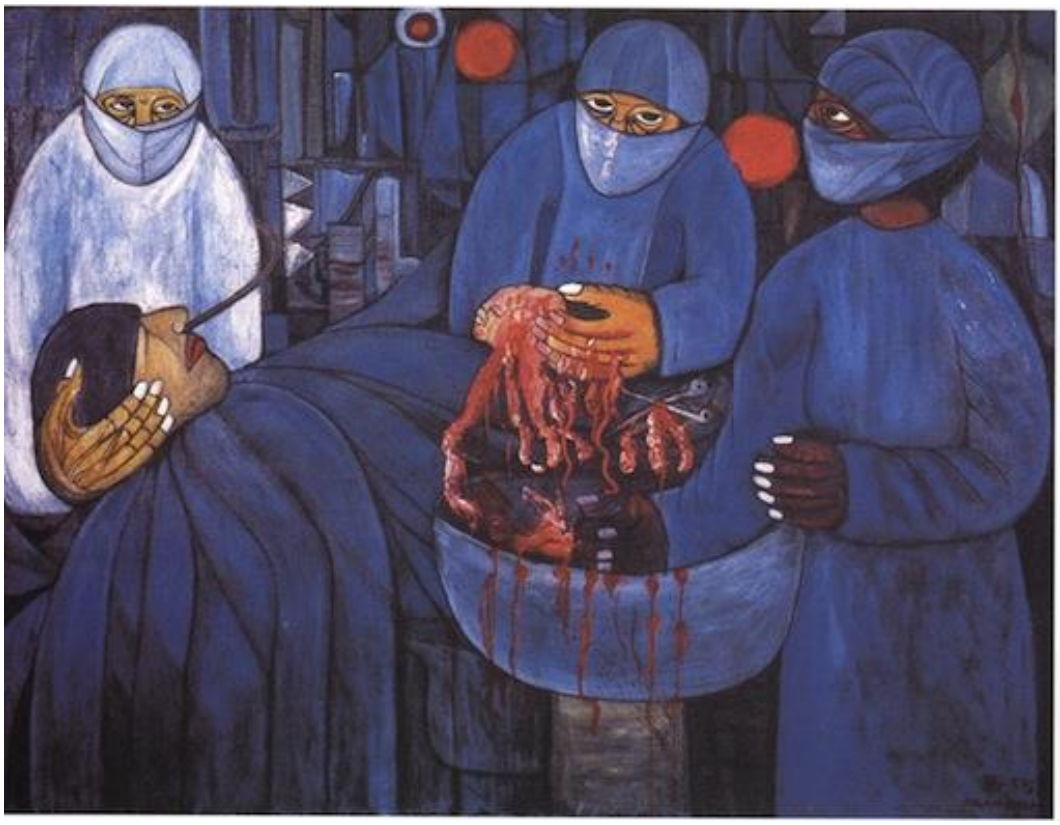
that some of the iconographic developments that I discussed earlier will be revisited here. However, with the emphasis not being on images reflecting the trauma of the Civil War, and rather, in the main, being concerned with cultural themes, the multi-valence of postcolonial signs such as the undulating arc and horizon will become more apparent.

For Malangatana, the transition from colonial Mozambique to an independent nation introduced significant challenges to his artistic practice. In the first phase, corresponding roughly to the first decade of independence, and leading up to his retrospective exhibition in 1986, his productivity as an artist declined. This was the period that intellectuals needed to bridge the gap between themselves and the people.[951] Accordingly, much of Malangatana's energy went into civic activities, some aligned directly to his role as an artist (such as the establishment of a National Museum), others more broadly cultural, social and indeed political.

Clearly a new set of conditions required a new set of responses, and this would impact on aesthetic choices. In looking for evidence of aesthetic shifts there are some obvious changes. These include the changing image of women, with the assimilationist temptress being displaced by a more self-consciously African prototype; the cessation of Christian iconography and themes; an increasing tendency towards semi-monochromatic paintings,

[951] Elsewhere I have analysed how the tensions between being a leading artist and being part of the masses can be read into the representation of Malangatana in catalogues for group exhibitions in Mozambique. See Pissarra, 2018, op.cit.

and an often comparatively muted palette; and a new set of visual signs, such as the undulating arc and horizon that were not a significant part of the artist's vocabulary in the anti/colonial period. There are also, in a few instances, paintings where the artist visualises the transition towards a new dispensation.



Cesarean Birth (*Cesariana*),1974-1975. Oil on unitex, 120 x 159cm. Coll: Ana Maria Nóvoa. Source: Navarro, 2003, op.cit.

Malangatana was drawn to articulating charged ambivalent images, regardless of changes in the political landscape. This is evident in *Cesarean Birth* (1974-1975). Painted during the years that saw the transfer of power, Malangatana's choice of metaphor communicates the sober assessment that independence was aided by the coup in Portugal and was not the natural outcome of a victorious anti-colonial war. The work has no direct precedent in

Malangatana's *oeuvre*, and can be situated within his infrequent tendency to produce self-contained narratives.

First impression of this work is that it is comparatively realistic. Perspective is used conventionally, although the pictorial space remains shallow. There is nonetheless an entirely logical progression of spatial relations, aided by the use of 'correct' proportions. The setting is a surgical theatre, i.e. an arena conforming to Western models of medicine and knowledge. There is some differentiation between the figures performing the operation. One is dressed in white, the other two in blue, but it is not clear which represents the surgeon and which the attendants. The mother's eyes are closed, her fate dependant on those entrusted to perform the operation.

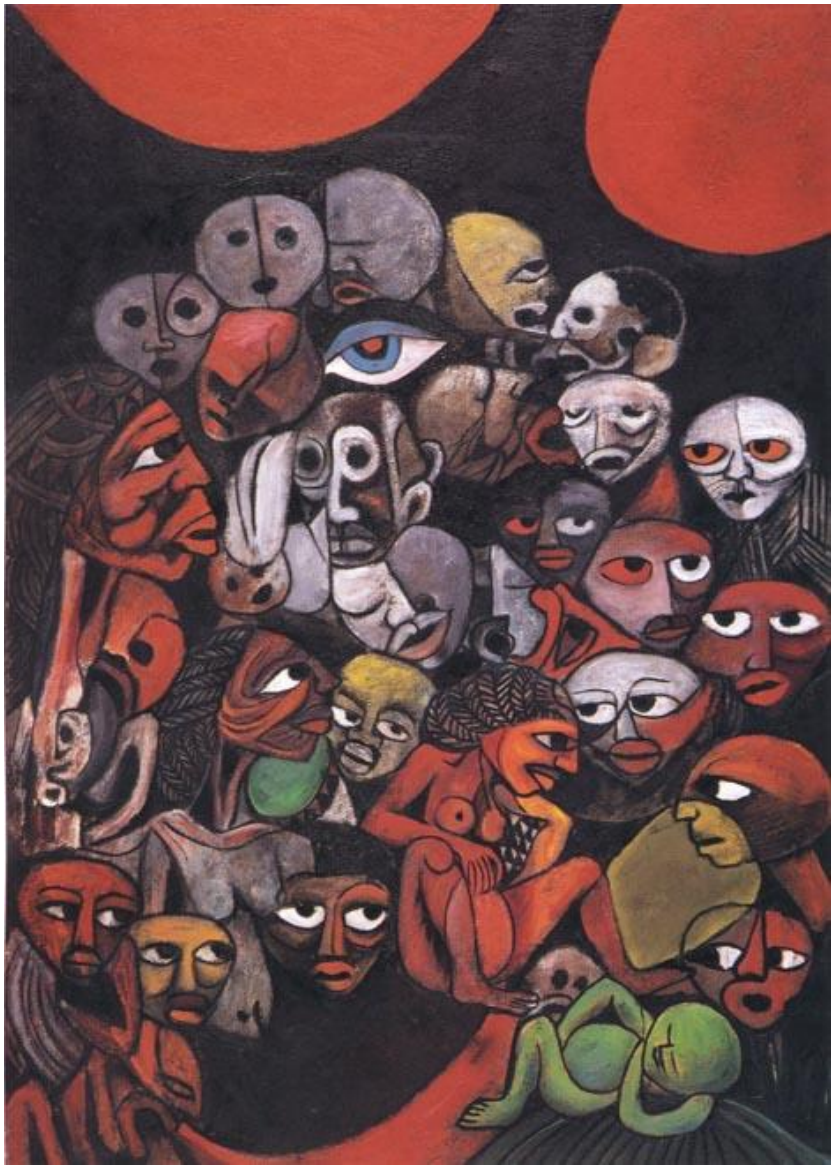
The initial impression of calm is deceptive; the new-born infant is bloody and mangled (or deformed). The head appears normal but the body resembles scrambled entrails. Surgical implements suggest that parts have been cut, but this is no routine operation. The bloody surgical bowl recalls the horror of *The Small Dentist* (1962). The fingernails of the figure on the right, while not the talons in images of the *feiteceiro*, hint menacingly. There appears to be an exchange of glances between this figure and the one in white (who seems to be protectively supporting the mother with one hand cupped behind her head). There is an understated sense of alarm or suggestion of blame in their eyes, and the central figure (who holds the child) looks towards the viewer as if anticipating a response. Something is horribly wrong and the consequences are unknown. The background breaks from the descriptive mode and hovers between the decorative

and symbolic. Its muted geometric patterning may serve to introduce an African reference to contrast with the surgical setting. Certainly, the stillness of the blue is punctured by red signals, similar to warning lights. It is very difficult to not read this painting as a non-triumphalist narrative of independence, one uncertain of the future.[952]

5.5.3 Signs of hope

The metaphor of childbirth recurs in *The Child, That Perpetual Hope* (1981). Unlike *Cesarean Birth*, we are offered a cautiously optimistic prognosis. The artist, in reflecting on the development of his work, acknowledged the need to find, in the revolutionary context, "a new style, new colours, to show that now a happy future was a possibility."[953] But this assessment was tempered by the sober assessment that, "the truth is that war and sorrow are still present; this birth of a new world in our country is difficult and bloody."[954] In this painting the artist contrasts a generally dark, sombre mood with warm treatment for the mother and her new born infant. Mother and child are distinguished by being shown in the foreground, with bodies visible, in contrast to the mostly disembodied heads of the other figures. The mother

[952] Related ideas, with a far more stylised treatment, can be seen in another work from the time, *Do You Remember Those Who Entered Bleeding? (1974-5),* illustrated in Navarro, 2003, op.cit.
[953] Anon. [*Indico*] op.cit. P.35. In the interview the artist presents these shifts as taking place after 1985, although this analysis of his paintings shows that these changes were already evident in his early post-independence paintings.
[954] Ibid. P.28.

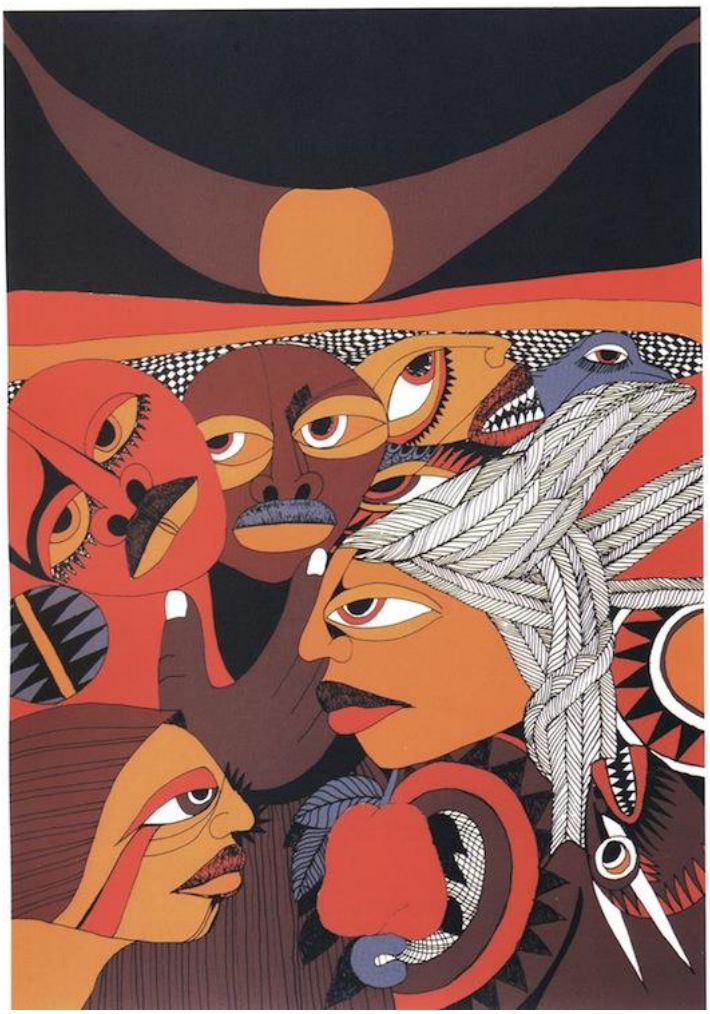


The Child, That Hope (A Criança, Essa Esperança), 1981.
Oil on canvas, 60 x 40cm.
Coll: Musart. Source: Navarro, 2003, op.cit.

and child are further differentiated from each other through the use of contrasting colours (red and green). There are also figures (with their bodies visible) positioned discretely to the one side suggesting that they may represent other living family members. This becomes a domestic scene, although the absence of details places them in a generic space.

This work is an early example of the artist's use of undulating arcs, painted flat and red. In the analysis of dystopian works, I suggested that these arcs are composite signs - solar, lunar and mammary – all significations which are relevant for this theme. The undulating arc motif is repeated at the bottom of the composition, with the red and black inverted. This has the effect of evoking a void. Between the mother and child, a skull can be seen, alluding to the cycle of life but also a threat. The hovering host of heads are at times mask-like and otherworldly. They evoke the presence of spirits and those gone before. Two upright figures can be seen. Their posture, coupled with the fact that their bodies are partially but not entirely visible presents them as a bridge between the living and ancestral realm, a position traditionally assigned to elders. One, notably, has her lower body 'swallowed' by the black void. Clearly the work depicts various stages of life and manifests the duality of life and death, hope and despair. It also reveals the characteristic ambivalence that is a mark of Malangatana's art, regardless of the positive implications of birth as a sign of promise.

If the infant in *The Child, That Hope* operates as a metaphor for the birth of a new society, Malangatana's *25 September* (1983) commemorates the 21st birthday of a less abstract symbol of hope, Frelimo. There is a marked contrast in his treatment of this theme with the earlier version from 1968. Here, at a time when the war had devastated the country, Malangatana produces a vibrant, harmonious image with absolutely no reference to the war or to the military identity of Frelimo. What we do have is the use of generic figures, with women dominant. The main figure has an elaborate braided hair-style, similar



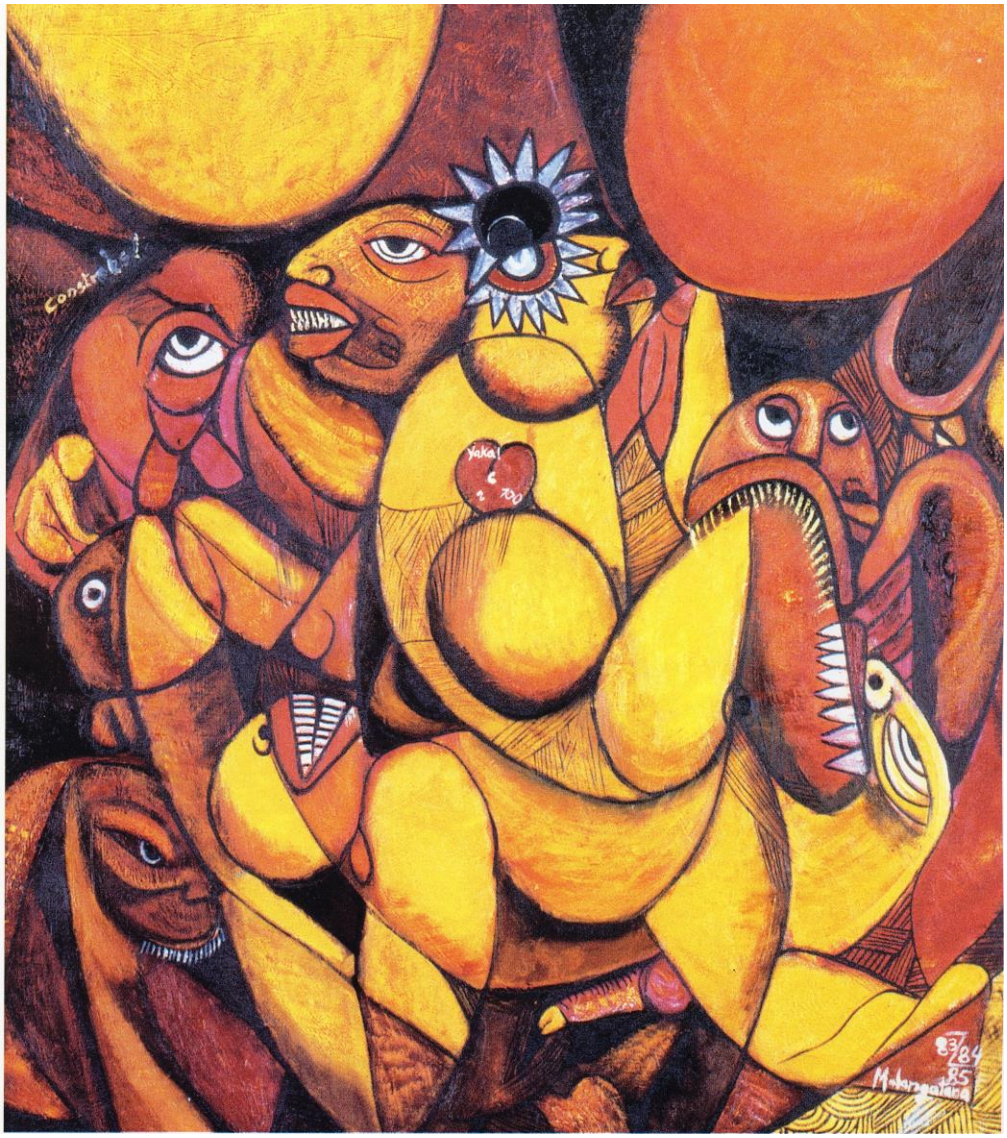
25 September (25 de Setembro)[955], 1983.
Screenprint, 63 x 48cm.
Source: Navarro, 2003, op.cit.

to the mother in *The Child, That Hope*, a detail that affirms her African identity. There are associations made between the figures and the earth. This is evident in the placing of the fruit on the braided woman's chest and its stylised, quasi-anthropomorphic character (part face, part heart), and the manner in which the figures are tucked into the landscape. An important feature is the horizon. In the discussion on dystopian aesthetics I introduced the idea of the horizon, usually remote, as a

[955] Titled *Rising Son* (*Sol Nascente*) and dated 1984 in Lemos et al. Op.cit. P.54.

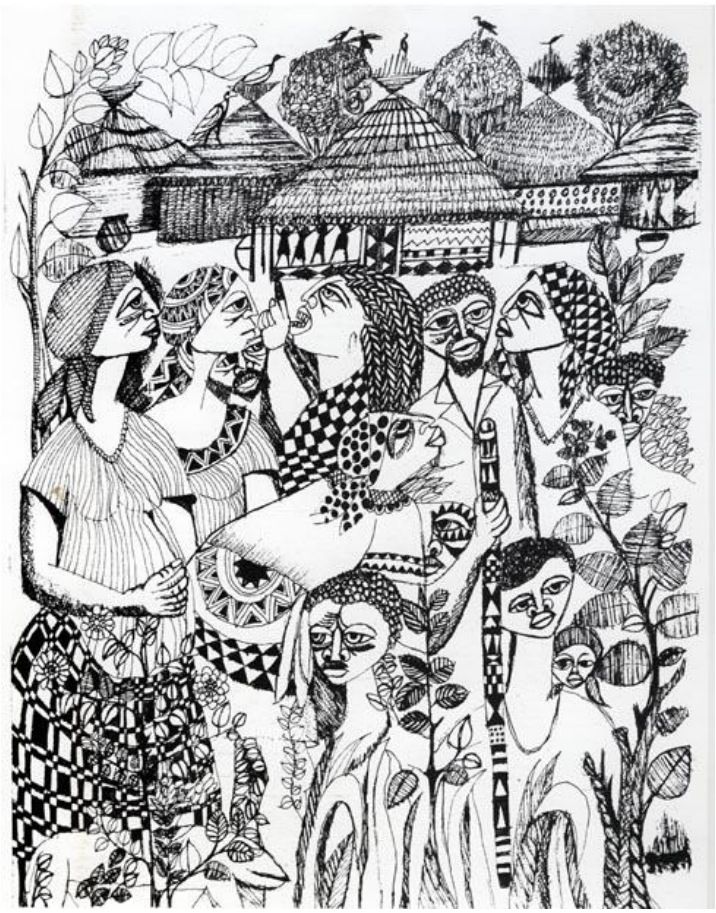
device to temper dystopia. In this instance the horizon is unbroken, extending into infinity. It is also uncharacteristically low, making it within reach. The horizon is crowned by arches that evoke the horns of a cow, a symbol of wealth in many traditional African contexts. At the same time, the centre of the horns are punctuated by a semi-circular shape that can be interpreted as a moon, son, or even apple. It can also be read as an imperfect or not quite whole circle. What this compounding of allusions does is to emphasise the organic, i.e. the natural power and inevitable triumph of Frelimo. Produced at a time when the line between party and state had been dissolved, the image becomes as much a celebration of a nascent Mozambique as a commemoration of Frelimo. And in the allusions to African identity, Frelimo becomes a proxy for African liberation.

Yaka – Build! (1983-1985) provides another example of the use of undulating arcs, here suggestive of breasts, but presented in a generalised form (lacking the 'naming' that nipples would confer on these shapes). These forms are simultaneously suggestive of the sun and moon, with the variation in their colouring acting to assign them differing values. Complicating the fixing of identities for these signs, there is a juxtaposition of a stylised set of motifs that can be read as sun and/or flowers. These are situated between the two arcs. By fusing the breast with the sun/moon the artist creates a symbol of nurturing that he summons here in imploring his public to 'build', 'make', or construct', with these acts being easily understood references to the act of constructing a new nation. This work is also noticeable for its explicit inclusion of a male phallus, placed in close proximity to a less visible vaginal form, cloistered in shadow. These



Yaka – Build! (Yaka – Constrói!), 1983-1985.
Oil on canvas, 117 x 104cm.
Coll: Musart. Source: Navarro, 2003, op.cit.

references to genitalia, coupled with the interlocking forms, introduce ideas of virility and of fertility. In their generic identity these signs carry human, agricultural and social connotations, metaphors for the process of creating a new world. The use of an indigenous language localises the subject whilst simultaneously affirming its African identity. *Yaka*, like *25 September* (1983) is rooted in the localised imperative of building a new Mozambican nation, but can also be read as a symbol of Africa's rebirth.



I Have Already Voted (Já Votei), 1994.
Ink on paper, 41 x 31 cm.
Coll: Artist's estate. Source: Navarro, 2003, op.cit.

As with *Cesarean Birth*, *I Have Already Voted* (1994) is a self-contained narrative. The external information in the form of the title and date establishes that this drawing refers directly to Mozambique's first multi-party elections. The image is strongly illustrative in character, with most elements clearly identifiable and an absence of heavily coded signs. The background identifies the setting as a rural village. Neighbours are depicted in conversation, presumably discussing national elections. A historical event is situated in the quotidian. While the artist does not tell you who to vote for, the presentation of the event as normal introduces an uncharacteristic didacticism - be a good citizen and vote. Women are again shown as socially dominant, and the

use of braids, head-wraps, wall decorations and patterns all confer an unambiguously African identity. The rural setting is also unusually prominent, reminding one of how Malangatana's rural imaginaries seldom depict houses and other human-made structures.

The discussions above focused on autonomous or semi-autonomous narratives that signify hope. In particular they are exhortations to citizenship, to belonging to the nation-state, but also more broadly to being African.

5.5.4 The artwork as polemic sign

Earlier I distinguished between semi-autonomous polemic signs and the artwork as a composite polemic sign. Here I wish to put forward the view that the *artwork* as polemic sign becomes increasingly important in the postcolonial period, contingent with a reduced emphasis on vivid, semi-autonomous polemic signs. I have repeatedly emphasised that Malangatana's art is not prone to simple, reductive readings. His approach was complex, evocative and provocative. What has to be reconciled in much of his art, particularly in the postcolonial period, is the disjuncture between enigmatic, poetic titles and an absence of clarity of the content of works bearing these titles.

There is an increasing emphasis on homogeneity as both an aesthetic and ideological characteristic in Malangatana's postcolonial art. In contrast to works from the anti/colonial period, especially those dealing with assimilationist issues, there is an increasing trend towards reducing the range of visual differentiation

between figures other than through denotation of gender (with women dominant), and at times, children. As an example of this trend, compare the ambitious untitled composition (1986) in the collection of Musart with the equally densely populated *Humanity* (1962), Malangatana's early prize-winning painting.

Untitled, 1986.

Coll: Musart

Humanity (Humanidade), 1962. Oil on board, 245 x 365cm.

Coll: Artist's estate.

Source: *CasaComum.org*, http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_115909

The two works are similar in their congested, claustrophobic sense of space but the earlier painting is far more dramatic in its differentiation of signs. This does not mean that the later work lacks drama, but the reduced tonal contrast, together with the less distinct differentiation between individual elements introduces a (relative) homogeneity, which should not be confused with uniformity. In the postcolonial period, figures are frequently unclothed or semi-clothed and absorbed into natural environments where human structures are rarely depicted. That homogeneity began to enter his art in the anti/colonial phase, specifically in the representation of political prisoners, suggests that as an ideological element it can be associated with a collectivist ethos which, in its reduced visualisation of individualist characteristics, implies a socialist orientation.

Due to the artist seldom producing autonomous, contained narratives, one has to look for patterns across bodies of work in order to search for meaning in his art. Furthermore, and this is increasingly important in the postcolonial period, one needs to consider what does *not* appear. Through this approach one can discover that there are numerous postcolonial works that allude to secrecy, to esoteric acts, and these are typically dominated by women and set in traditional imaginaries. Consider the following titles: *Yes in the Deep of the Night, the Voices of the Women Scream and Sing, Announcing the Initiation Rites Celebration* (1983); *Initiation Rites* (1984); *Nocturnal Secrets of Women* (1984); *The Sacred Well* (1985); *Nocturnal Ritual* (1995); as well as works with more succinct titles that nonetheless express the idea of dual or multiple realms such as *Transparencies* (1991); *Signals* (1994); and *Emerging I* (1996).

That we are dealing with generalised imaginaries is clear in the absence of details to situate themes temporally or spatially. It is not clear whether these imaginaries are pre-colonial; although they are certainly pre-industrial or, at least, non-industrial. In that respect they bear traces of a romantic, idealised, even *utopian* impulse. But what makes these composite signs (artworks) polemical is the multiple ways in which they can be read, and the implications that these readings have for their ideological content.

In the following section I deal collectively with postcolonial works that make enigmatic reference to traditional themes, but which avoid any documentary, descriptive or narrative trope that would aid translation or identification with specific events. Three distinct approaches of enquiry can be pursued, each with merit, none conclusive. This ambiguity is the key to establishing these artworks as polemic signs.

5.5.4.1. The anthropological fallacy, or a story not yet told?

The first approach is to assume an anthropological basis to cultural themes. This is the most widely held view, i.e. that Malangatana's work represents a deep, intimate knowledge of traditional culture. This does not imply that his approach is empirical and lacking in imagination, but rather that the constellation of signs

The Sacred Well (O Poço Sagrado), 1985.
Oil on canvas, 146 x 209cm.
Coll: Musart. Source: Navarro, 2003, op.cit.

draws substantially on his first-hand experience of popular, ethnically based rituals.[956] The appeal of the anthropological approach is evident. For Mozambicans, and for members of the international community who are looking for signs of Mozambican identity, the references to sacred rites grounds Malangatana's works as deeply rooted in Mozambican culture.

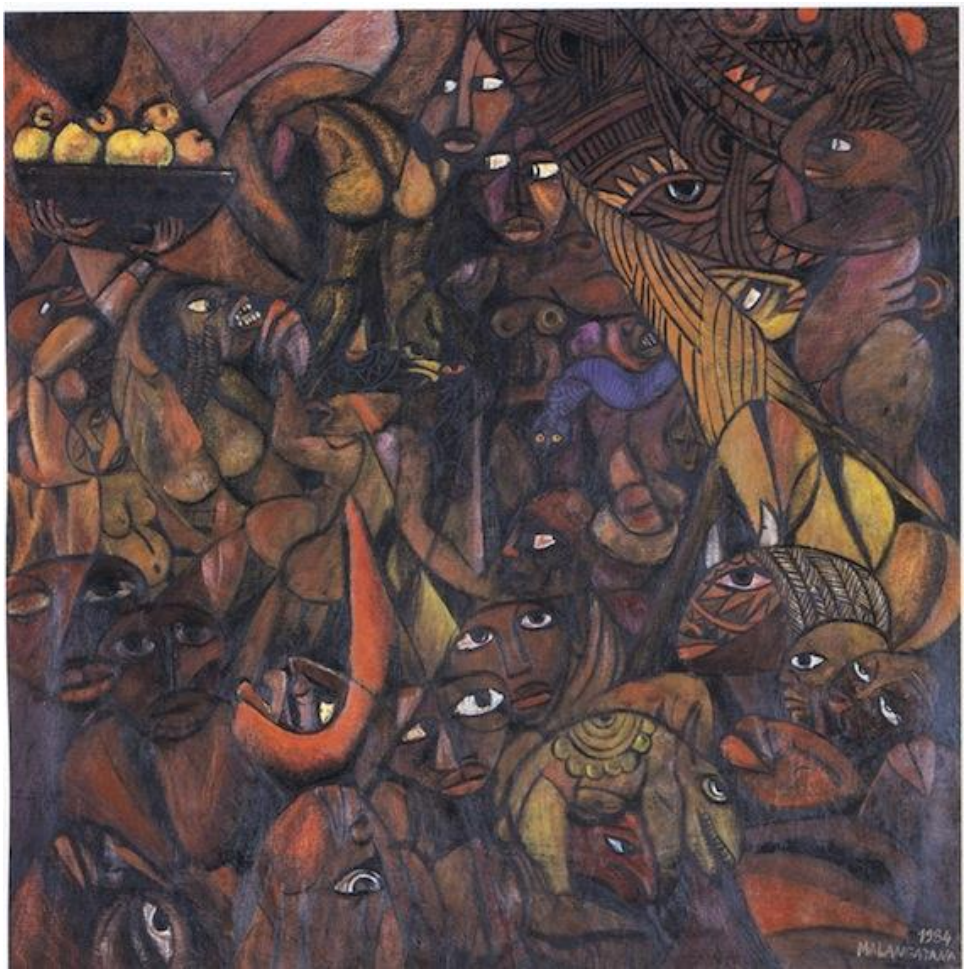
I do not discount the anthropological view, but I stress the absence of writing on Malangatana's art where this is elaborated by way of detailed discussion of individual works. We may be told there are Ronga, Zulu or Malagasy

[956] Even writers who stress his universal qualities emphasise his roots in his exposure to traditional rituals. See, for example Lemos et al. Op.cit. Pp.3-8.

oral traditions referenced,[957] but these are never narrated. If the basis for such an analysis exists it is the task of Mozambicans, anthropologists and others intimately associated with indigenous, esoteric knowledge to advance the veracity of this approach to Malangatana's art. This will require more than pointing to the incorporation of local motifs, or the naming of generic rituals (e.g. 'initiation') as any colonial artist with an interest in native culture could provide such an 'insight' into indigenous culture. Ogbechie foregrounded Igbo philosophical constructs to provide fresh perspectives on Ben Enwonwu's paintings of masquerades;[958] can a comparative level of insider knowledge of indigenous culture be drawn on to elucidate Malangatana's references to local rituals? In the absence of strong arguments, we need to remain open to being persuaded of the anthropological basis of Malangatana's art. However, for purposes of this thesis, the anthropological argument has been provisionally disregarded as a form of myth making. I am more inclined to consider that these works operate at a broader, universalised, abstract level, one where it is sufficient to signify, or at least *appear to signify* esoteric cultural practices, but not deemed necessary to elucidate, illuminate or reference specific cultural practices or sources beyond, for example, titles referring to generic rituals.

[957] Malangatana, questioned about Ronga sources, attributes thse to stories he heard growing up. Interestingly he highlights their didactic, moralistic character, qualities not prominent in the artist's work. Vieira op.cit. P.40.

[958] Ogbechie, 2008, op.cit. Pp.198-213.



First Fruits (Primícias), 1984.
Oil on canvas, 90 x 90cm.
Coll: Dr. Pinto da Fonseca.
Source: Navarro, 2003, op cit.

5.5.4.2 A new world

A second approach is to take at face value the emphasis on traditional imaginaries as evidence of the artist's deep commitment to the lives of 'ordinary' Mozambicans living in the countryside; to accept that this work, despite being largely imagined, represents a valorisation of the *idea* of traditional, rural culture. In this instance the frequency of generic types and overall homogeneity of the aesthetic can be read as a vision of a classless society; in effect a utopian rendition of the

New Man, although stripped of the industrialist, modernising agenda of revolutionary Mozambique. For Mozambican nationalists who retain the core aspirations of the Revolution, Malangatana provides a visual score for the construction of a united Mozambique, liberated from racial, ethnic, and regionalist divisions, and rooted in the lives of common people. Even in scenes besieged by violence, anxiety and suffering, as we saw in the dystopian images, there are no protagonists, the nation experiences pain as one.

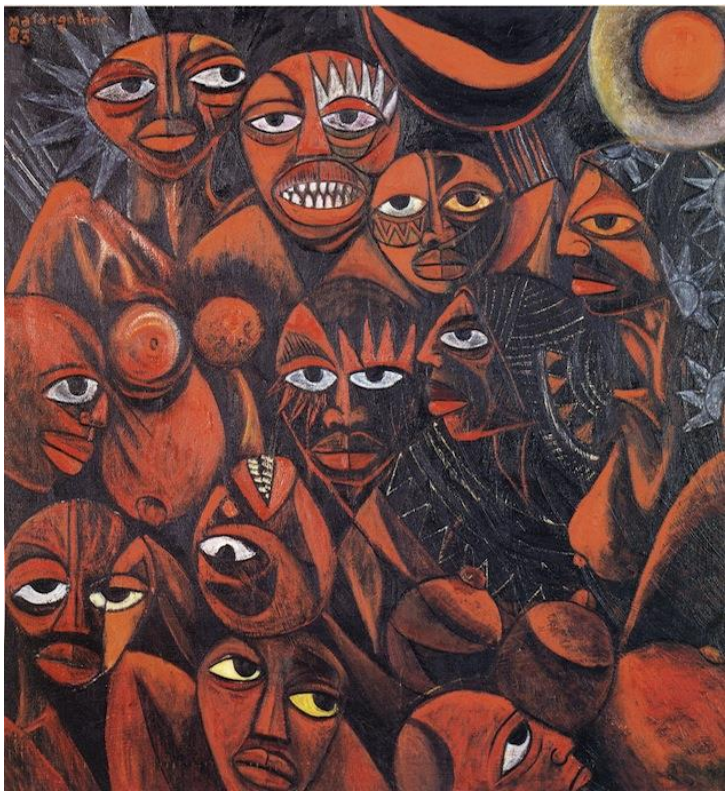
Transparencies (*Transparéncias*), 1991.
Oil on canvas, 134 x 178.5cm.
Coll: Artist's estate.
Source: *CasaComum.org*, http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_116020

This interpretation can be amplified. The figures may be essentialised, but their identity is also Africanised, and frequently complemented by generic signs that are commonly used to evoke African identity. These include

geometric patterns and strong rhythmic elements (significations of the Black Soul in the Negritudinist model of African aesthetics). As such, many of these works do not only address Mozambican nationalists who see in these works the experiences of being Mozambican, but also pan-Africanists looking for signs of African cultural identity. In addition, the essentialised, generalised treatment of figures and abstracted themes appeal to universally inclined viewers who see these works as expressions of the human condition.

Furthermore, in that the utopian setting is one shared by humans and animals, these works can be seen as more than an image of a New Society, they reveal a whole New World.

If the bona-fide intent of these images as utopian imaginaries is accepted, then the critical questions that follow concern whether the artist is principally imaging the past (lost or recoverable), the present (marginalised but still alive) or the future (distant but attainable)? Further, how do these temporal accents aid the interpretation of this imaged utopia as a critique of the industrialised, capitalist present and facilitate a vision for the future? Paradoxically, the utopian imaginary, in its temporal and spatial vagueness, provides a rich resource for conversations about the past, present and future.



Yes in the Deep of the Night, the Voices of the Women Scream and Sing, Announcing the Initiation Rites Celebration (Sim, nas Profundezas da Noite as Mulheres Gritam e Cantam Anunciando a Festa das Primícias), 1983.
Oil on canvas, 102 x 98cm.
Coll: Mário Soares
Source: *CasaComum.org*, http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_116135

5.5.4.3 *Theme song for the failure of the revolution*

A third approach is to view Malangatana's enigmatic rural imaginaries as a mask, an edifice, a sign of the failure of the Mozambican revolution. Earlier, in the discussion on the assimilationist theme, I highlighted the ambivalence of Malangatana towards traditional (indigenous) culture, drawing attention to his casting of the *feiteceiro/curandeiro* as a polemic sign that is, on the whole, a signification of malevolent forces. I also suggested that some affinities could be found in his

semi-satirical images of supernatural practices with outspoken criticism by Frelimo ideologues of negative aspects of traditional culture, as found in statements by Mondlane on feudalism and Machel on obscurantism.

Here I highlight Frelimo's ambivalent, sometimes contradictory relationship with rural communities in order to foreground ways in which Malangatana's rural imaginaries can be read in relation to these views, as well as in relation to revisionist critiques of Frelimo's agricultural policies.

It is widely accepted that Frelimo enjoyed wide support from rural communities during the anti-colonial struggle. Frelimo saw itself as being deeply rooted in the lives of ordinary people. And yet, Frelimo was critical of certain aspects of traditional culture. As early as 1966, Frelimo began to develop positions on ethnicity and culture. According to Mondlane, Frelimo's central committee "re-examined the problems of tribalism and regionalism … such a battle being the safeguard of our national unity and our liberty."[959]

It thus follows that cultural practices associated with specific ethnic identities were in a precarious position. In part, they constituted a validation of the rich cultural identity of Mozambique, to be shared as national patrimony. But they were also a frequent source of ethnic chauvinism. Debates on culture and national identity were an important part of the political discourse. Cabaço notes that the 2nd Frelimo Congress in 1968 adopted a

[959] Frelimo resolution from October, 1966, quoted by Mondlane, op.cit. P.164.

programme to "substitute colonial culture … for a popular and revolutionary culture based on the traditions of our people."[960] The revolutionary slant is a sign of radical change, thus clearly not all traditions would be retained.

On attaining power, one of Frelimo's first acts was to abolish chieftancy, which was not only seen as a sign of feudal culture but in many instances was viewed as having being corrupted by colonialism. Chiefs were replaced by party secretaries elected by local communities. Traditional healers were also banned, and Frelimo began a programme of introducing clinics and schools throughout the country,[961] a programme that was decimated a few years later by Renamo.[962]

Alice Dinerman identifies the abolition of chieftaincy at the dawn of independence as a foundational myth of the New Society advocated by Frelimo.[963] This act is thus emblematic of Frelimo's promotion of a non-racial, non-tribalist nationalism. Dinerman argues that in the wake of the war between Renamo and Frelimo, and Frelimo's "retreat to tradition" in the 1990s,[964] the abolition of chieftaincy is accorded disproportionate credit as the primary cause of Frelimo's loss of support to Renamo in

---

[960] Cabaço op.cit. P.286.

[961] For a summary of Frelimo's educational and health gains see A. Dinerman, *Revolution, Counter-Revolution and Revisionism in Postcolonial Africa: The case of* Mozambique, *1975-1994*. London: Routledge, 2006, pp.52-53.

[962] The devastation wrought by Renamo by 1987 is summarised by Dinermam op.cit. P.60.

[963] Ibid. P.32.

[964] Ibid. P.75.

the countryside.[965] She maintans that attributing Renamo's growth as a Mozambican movement to their mobilisation of ethnic discontent overlooks the fact that numerous agrarian policies were at the root of peasant discontent with Frelimo.[966] According to her analysis, the acknowledgment of having made an error in banning chieftaincy alleviates Frelimo from acknowledging more far-reaching mistakes for which Frelimo is reluctant to take responsibility.[967]

Certainly, the question of peasant support for Renamo in the new, multi-party Mozambique has been the source of much soul searching on the part of Frelimo, and the subject of several academic enquiries. According to Merle Bowen, "Geffray argues that Frelimo alienated significant sections of the rural population by excluding traditional authorities from power".[968] She further notes that: "Other writers argue that Renamo successfully exploited widespread rural disenchantment with Frelimo's agrarian policies to fuel one of the most brutal wars in Africa."[969] According to Bowen, Even pro-Frelimo academics (such as Hanlon) have conceded that Frelimo's agrarian policies were flawed, although attributing these to neglect and not design.[970]

---

[965] Ibid. Pp.34,38.

[966] In particular, Dinerman cites the rural goods famine, the emphasis on state farms, forced villagisationand the withholding of support to middle peasants as major sources of peasant grievance. Ibid. Pp.33-34.

[967] Ibid. Pp.39,44.

[968] M.L. Bowen, *The State Against the Peasantry: Rural struggles in colonial and postcolonial Mozambique*. University of Virginia Press, 2000, p.14.

[969] Ibid.

[970] Ibid. P.11.

Bowen, like Dinerman, engages critically with the narrative of radical rupture with Independence. She argues that "Frelimo began to turn against the middle peasantry and other prosperous farmers … in the late 1960s."[971] And she states categorically that: "Despite regime changes both the colonial and postcolonial Mozambican state pursued policies inimical to the peasantry."[972]

A key critique offered by Bowen concerns the lack of differentiation of the peasantry. In particular, she criticises Frelimo's "anti-middle peasant line",[973] and their effort to create a "homogenous group of peasants."[974] Bowen questions Geffray's view of a "homogenous peasantry" in Nampula (where his study was based), noting that "Roesch reminds us, in the immediate postindependence years, [that] large sectors of the peasantry in many parts of the country confronted and questioned their 'traditions.' They saw in Frelimo a respected interlocutor and source of leadership."[975] Dinerman has also interrogated reductive narratives, highlighting that many traditional authorities reinserted themselves into power through joining the party.[976]

It is productive to apply Dinerman's critique of the symbolic capital accrued to Frelimo by the abolition of traditional leadership, along with Bowen's critique of the homogenising views of the peasantry to a critical

[971] Ibid. P.8.

[972] Ibid. P.1.

[973] Ibid. P.7.

[974] Ibid. P.6.

[975] Ibid. P.15

[976] Dinerman op.cit.

reading of Malangatana's art. Earlier the view was expressed that the homegenising tendency within Malangatana'a art can be read as advancing the project of a united, classless society. These critiques by Dinerman and Bowen bring to the fore the consequences of Frelimo's homogenising gaze in contributing to what is now generally accepted to have been a flawed agricultural policy. If Malangatana's postcolonial art can be viewed as a visual symphony that complements hegemonic national narratives, then it opens itself up to critique in the same way that revisionist historians have addressed the foundational national myths propagated by Frelimo. What, then, are the implications of Malangatana's homogenising gaze for an imaging of Mozambican culture? If Malangatana's practice is a critical one, what does it say about his conjuring of traditional imaginaries that contain no hint of the real issues that were at stake for rural communities? Like the Makonde warriors in *25 September* (1968), whom I suggested would not recognise themselves in that painting, one can only wonder how local, rural communities who lived through late colonialism and the postcolonial revolutionary project read Malangatana, other than as a Mozambican icon.[977]

Considering Dinerman's critique of the overemphasis on Frelimo's ban of traditional leaders, it becomes interesting to consider the absence of traditional chiefs in Malangatana's repertoire of polemic signs. If, as claimed, Malangatana depicts traditional culture, surely the chief should appear somewhere? Since he doesn't, it can be argued that Malangatana complements the hegemonic

[977] Regrettably, answering that question extends beyond the capacity of this study, it will hopefully be addressed by future researchers

nationalist narrative advanced by Felimo that did away with chieftaincy. However, Malangatana does not participate in the subsequent u-turn - in the 1990s chieftainship was rehabilitated as a political institution in Mozambique but the chief continues to be absent in the artist's lexicon.

A similar question concerns Malangatana's depiction of traditional healers. One notes their generally negative depiction in the early years, followed with their diminished visibility, erasure even, by the time of independence. This corresponds with Frelimo's ban on traditional healers, an act which, according to Green, "[drove] healers and their patients underground and alienat[ed] people from the government."[978] This ban was then repudiated at Frelimo's 5th Congress in 1989.[979]

(A Chegada do Gonisana a Aldeia Nditxhi), 2003.
289 x 575cm. Acrylic on cement. Faculty of Medicine, University of Eduardo Mondlane, Maputo.
Source: *CasaComum.org*, http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_116182

[978] E.C. Green, *Indigenous Healers and the African State: Policy Issues Concerning African Indigenous Healers in Mozambique and Southern Africa.* New York: PACT Publications, 1999, p.19.
[979] Ibid.

Design for tile mural, 2006. Final azulejo 230 x 480cm, S. João Hospital, University of Porto (2012).
Source: G.G. Pereira et al. Op.cit.

But the traditional healer does not reappear in any major way. Of particular interest are murals produced by Malangatana for medical departments at universities in Mozambique and Portugal. In 2003 the artist painted a mural for the conference centre in the Faculty of Medicine at Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM), and in 2006, he designed a tile mural (*azulejo*) for the psychiatry unit at the Hospital de S. João, attached to the University of Porto.[980] The UEM mural is as densely populated as a crowded marketplace, with humans entangled with birds, fish and composite forms. What is interesting is that Malangatana does not resurrect the image of the traditional healer, at least not in any clearly definable way. Rather he conjures an otherworldly milieu that evidences the co-existence of secular and sacred realms. Calane da Silva, Mozambican poet, writer and journalist,

[980] The azulejo mural was manufactured at the Fine Arts department at the University of Porto, and inaugurated posthumously (27 June 2012). G.G. Pereira et al. Op.cit. P.25.

alludes to this image as a representation of the domain of the traditional healer when he characterises the natural and otherworldly polemic signs as "the water of the spirits of our healers, healers of bodies and souls that modern science cannot ignore and that little by little reveals its secrets."[981] In contrast to the lack of specific identification of the *curandeiro*, Malangatana incorporates anecdotal signs such as syringes and plasters in order to acknowledge Western medicine. The mural is also interesting for its departure from the homogeneity that characterises his postcolonial aesthetic. While the colours are not as bold as in his early works, they are sufficiently discordant to contribute towards a vibrant mood. It is possible that this use of colour is a formal response to the site specificity of the panel – a monochromatic composition may fail to engage viewers when, as is the case here, it is situated high off the ground. But it is also a means of introducing heterogeneity and difference. Thus, it is not surprising that da Silva attributes the diversity of colour to a representation of the multiracial diversity of Mozambique.[982]

What appears to be the case in both the UEM and Porto University murals is that Malangatana responds to the purpose of medical departments by conjuring precolonial imaginaries. The Porto mural is, however, quite different to the UEM mural, not only in its use of colour and materials, but also because here we can discern the presence of at least one figure who corresponds to the

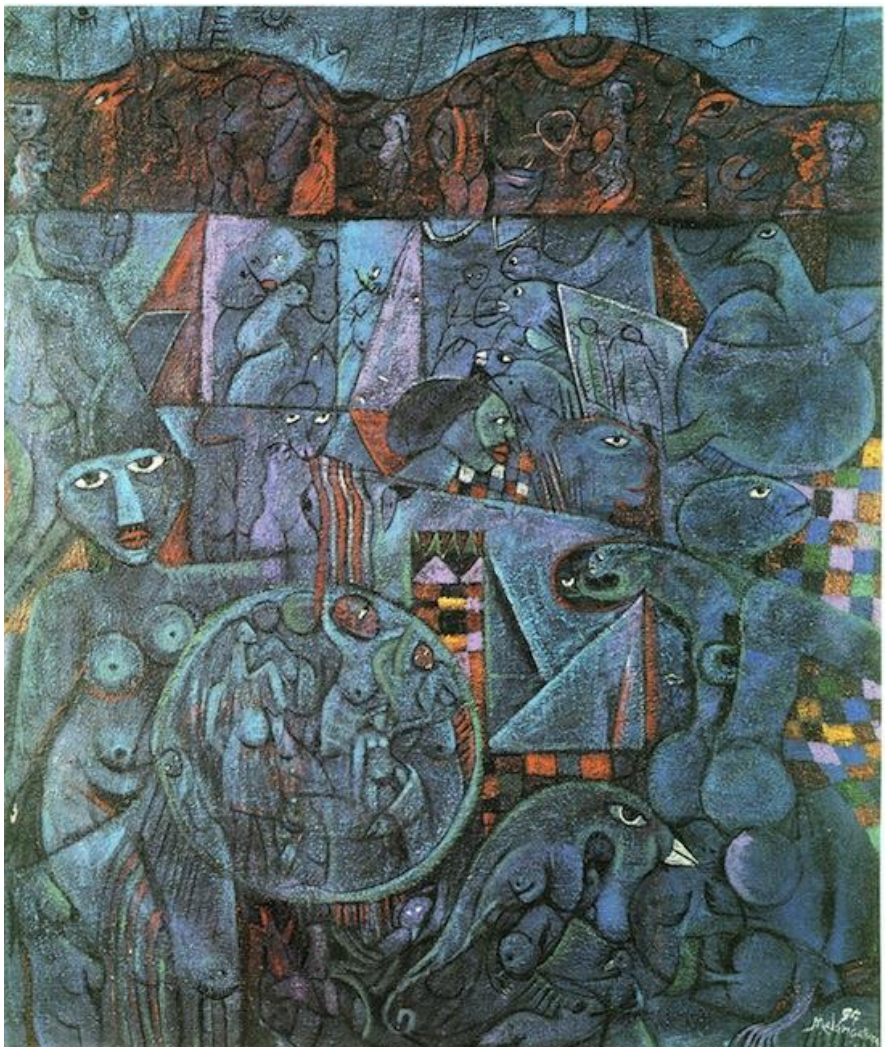
[981] "Simbolizando a agua dos espiritos dos nossos nyangas, curandeiros de corpos e almas que a ciência moderna não pode ignorar e que vai, também e aos poucos, desvendando os segredos." Ibid. P.20.
[982] Ibid.

trope of the traditional healer. While one does not know how much to make of this observation, that the *curandeiro* appears where it is less politicised and more anthropological, it is clear that the idea of traditional healer returns with these murals, stripped of the negative forces visible in early treatments of the theme.

The paradox of Malangatana's postcolonial art is that while the artist produces work that is bold and vibrant, it steers away from any critique that would make it controversial. Malangatana takes a middle course. He is not the praise singer for Frelimo, but he is also not the voice of the opposition. Neither is he an independent voice who articulates precise criticisms of historical events and processes. Rather, he operates at the level of the generalised, abstracted, imaginary. This endears him to the universalists, but it also means that he rehearses a very particular brand of *Moçambicanidade* – there is symbolic reference and identification with ordinary people, especially women, in the emblematic guise of rural dwellers, but in his lack of articulation of specific issues there is arguably an amnesia and/or denial of the particular divisions within Mozambican society and of the grievances of ordinary Mozambicans, and women in particular. Malangatana becomes Malangatana, rehearsing his trademark aesthetic, a voice for an elite class whose own lives, ironically, are not visualised in his art.

The paradox of postcolonial Malangatana is that the artist empathises with the suffering masses but reproduces the oppressive power relations between the urban elite and the people. And yet this reading of Malangatana as an accomplice to the marginalisation of

ordinary Mozambicans is not entirely fair. His position, like his paintings, is complex and charged with ambivalences.



The Heart of the Crocodile is at Peace
(Ambilu ya Ngwenya ye Tondôôô),1994.
Acrylic on canvas, 145 x 130cm.
Coll: Artist's estate.
Source: Navarro, 2003, op.cit.

This discussion on Malangatana's *Moçambicanidade* began with his disturbing *Cesarean Birth* and it concludes with *The Heart of the Crocodile is at Peace* (1994). Painted in the post-war period, with strong use of a cool aquatic blue, shades of gentle lilac, circular forms signifying harmony and wholeness, and the multi-coloured chequer

board we saw in *Even the Boy Returned*, we cannot conclude this discussion on his articulation of a new Mozambican identity without contemplating the polemic sign of the crocodile, camouflaged in its environment. Attention has been drawn to the meaning of the artist's family name (*Ngwenya)* as crocodile, and the inclusion of crocodiles being signs of the artist's insertion of himself into compositions. Crocodiles are formidable, their lazy sun-loving demeanour a merciless disguise for unsuspecting visitors to the river. In a flash they kill. They can be likened to the volatile nature of war which can flare up and disrupt the façade of social equilibrium. It is this implicit threat, this forceful ambivalence, that perhaps more than any quality defines the power of Malangatana's art. Malangatana, a visible sign of Mozambican culture, is also responsible for a body of art that allows one to engage critically with the founding myths of that national culture.

LOCATING MALANGATANA: DECOLONISATION, AESTHETICS & THE ROLES OF AN ARTIST IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

i) Summary of main arguments

Chapters One and Two set the scene. The first chapter identified key themes within the development of a critical discourse on modern and contemporary African art, and situated this study within recent efforts to introduce decolonisation as an epistemic framework. The chapter also engaged critically with conservative definitions of decolonisation, highlighting its multi-faceted character, notably in the cultural field, in both the anti/colonial and postcolonial environments. The Mozambican experience of decolonisation was inserted into this framework.

Three key points were made in Chapter One. The first of these is that a decolonial discourse needs to factor in a range of nationalisms, not just that of the nation state. Cultural nationalisms, ranging from micro-nationalisms to trans-nationalisms complement or conflict with the nation-state. The second point is that a productive decolonial discourse needs to factor in both anti-colonial struggles and post-independence struggles to build new societies. The third major point made in the first chapter concerns the hegemonic trope of Mozambican decolonisation, namely that Frelimo implemented a nationalistic decolonial programme, with strong cultural accents, that spanned the anti-colonial and post-independence revolutionary periods.

Chapter Two surveyed and analysed writings on aesthetic decolonisations in anglophone and francophone settings (Sudan, Nigeria, Tanzania/Uganda, Senegal, Morocco). It also drew on archival research on Sam Ntiro. It concluded with an extrapolation of decolonial trends that can be found in the art of Malangatana's pan-African peers.

The second chapter highlighted two major decolonial orientations which, in broad terms, can be termed nativist and syncretist. Nativist tendencies manifest aesthetically in disparate ways – through incorporation of indigenous motifs, the simulation or actual application of indigenous techniques, the use of indigenous materials, adoption of indigenous cultural forms, as well as through figurative content. On the other hand, syncretist tendencies incorporate indigenous sources along with elements associated with the colonising power, or, less commonly, other international sources. Both nativist and syncretic tendencies can be read in relation to divergent forms of nationalism and internationalism, and their attendant ideologies.

Chapter Two further highlighted that pioneering African modernists were frequently active in the public realm, through public art, through publishing, as well as through acting as educators and/or civil servants.

In the following three chapters I approached Malangatana from three different positions. Chapter Three contained a strong biographical basis. This was centred on an examination of the artist's lengthy exhibitions career. The approach was chiefly historical, with his career analysed within and across three periods - the anti/colonial; post independence/ revolutionary; and

globalisation. Efforts were made to identify patterns (sustained and intermittent) and ruptures, particularly with regards to the role of key cultural brokers, networks, publics, and their attendant discourses.

The analysis of Malangatana's exhibition career yielded four major findings. The first of these is that the Cold War played a major part in opening and closing doors for the artist's international career. This took different forms in the anti/colonial period (where covert CIA funding was influential) and the post independence/ revolutionary period (where socialist links were paramount).

A second finding from an analysis of Malangatana's exhibition career concerned an epistemic shift in his status as a post-revolutionary artist. In the revolutionary period the emphasis was on collective exhibitions. Malangatana's solo career was revived in conjunction with Mozambican 'reforms' (the onset of neo-liberalism following the debilitating effects of the war with Renamo), and it was at this point that he was reinvented as a global ambassador of a dynamic Mozambican culture.

A third finding concerned the postcolonial capital of the artist's international career following the end of the Cold War. Malangatana's numerous solo exhibitions in the era of globalisation were almost entirely in Portugal, or facilitated by Portuguese networks. This reflects a postcolonial pattern wherein the artist, as a symbol of reconciliation, serves to cement historical relations between the former adversaries.

While the above findings concerning the artist's exhibitions are all tied to major historical and political developments, a fourth finding in Chapter Three concerns Malangatana's canonical position as an international artist. His early absorption into a network of pioneering African modernists, and subsequent affirmations of this historical role, have led to his inclusion in a discourse on modern and contemporary African art that has followed a trajectory distinct from that of his solo career, and that of Mozambican art in general.

Chapter Four was primarily concerned with deconstructing the cultural capital of Malangatana. It was argued that 'Malangatana' operates as a polyvalent sign that, while informed by his position as an artist, is semi-autonomous. This chapter drew heavily on published writings on the artist, many of them from the popular press and rare catalogues. Key conceptual framings of the artist were highlighted and situated into historical context. These tropes were identified as: the autodidact (self-taught 'genius'); the revolutionary artist; the symbol of Mozambican culture; and the global humanist. It was argued that the cumulative effect of these tropes was to confer on the artist a larger than life status.

There are four key findings and/or arguments presented in the fourth chapter. The first of these is that early framings of the artist as deeply rooted in indigenous culture have remained influential throughout his career, despite (as is argued in the subsequent chapter) questions regarding the veracity of this positioning of the artist.

The second important point arising from Chapter Four is that the positioning of the artist as a revolutionary icon overlooks his complex relations with the ruling party and ignores his pronounced tendency to produce complex, provocative, and non-didactic art.

A third argument presented in this chapter is that the positioning of the artist as a symbol of Mozambican culture has been a consequence of his dominance in the visual arts field and his practice as a 'total artist', buttressed by perspectives of his work as a form of visual anthropology. There has, however, been little critical analysis of his international standing, his performance across visual arts and other artistic fields, and of the culturalist basis routinely used to position the artist.

A further finding in Chapter Four concerns the artist's global capital. Mozambican perceptions of Malangatana's international successes, his canonic position in normative accounts of modern African art, along with his generic treatment of themes, have been largely instrumental in him being positioned as a universal artist and Mozambique's contribution to global patrimony.

Chapter Five comprised a close and critical reading of selected paintings and drawings by the artist. These were grouped and analysed according to four critical frames – signs of assimilation in the anti/colonial period; the imaging of the anti-colonial struggle; aesthetic responses to the war against decolonisation (the Civil War); and the articulation of a new Mozambican identity. Central to this analysis was the elaboration of the concept of the polemic sign.

An analysis of Malangatana's aesthetic strategies Shows us that the artist responded to evolving historical contexts by introducing new sets of signs. The interpretation of these signs requires analysis across bodies of work, with self-contained narratives occurring seldom. A second critical observation regarding Malangatana's aesthetic is that many of the artist's works centre on ambiguity and ambivalence. It is through the simultaneous use of disparate (often conflictual) modes of visual communication that uncertainty enters into the reading of his art.

Other observations regarding the artist's aesthetic are specific to the decolonial tropes discussed in the chapter. These were presented as working hypotheses to underline their interpretative character. The first refers to the assimilationist theme in Malangatana's anti/colonial work, which I maintain reflects an intense struggle with the socialisation of the colonised subject. A second hypothesis concerns his overtly political narratives. I have posited that these constitute a struggle between the didactic imperatives of the anti-colonial struggle and the artist's disinclination towards triumphalist narratives. A third hypothesis concerns the dystopian current that runs through the artist's career. I have presented the view that the artist's dystopian impulse is tempered in the postcolonial period by discrete signs of a new tomorrow. While all of these perspectives depart from orthodox narratives on the artist, it is perhaps on the question of Moçambicanidade that my thesis is most provocative. I have argued that Malangatana's articulations of Mozambican identity complement hegemonic narratives. However, the question arises whether the aesthetic trend towards homogeneity

and emphasis on generic figures (especially women and children) can be read as a sign of alienation from the very masses that the work purports to represent.

ii) Malangatana's decolonial aesthetic in comparative perspective

In Chapter Two I mapped the aesthetic strategies of a selected sample of Malangatana's peers. In the conclusion to that chapter I identified nativist and syncretist approaches, their contingent ideological positions, and the public profile of these artists as central to a decolonial analysis of their work. In Chapter Five I focused on four aspects of Malangatana's aesthetic in relation to the Mozambican experience of decolonisation. Here I wish to bring these arguments together by considering the ways in which Malangatana's art conforms to identified patterns, and the ways in which he introduces new approaches to decolonisation.

- *Decolonial span* - unlike most of the pan-African artists discussed earlier, Malangatana's career began long before political independence. In contrast, important figures in the literature on aesthetic decolonisation such as Okeke, Tall, el Salahi, and Belkahia are of more consequence for the postcolonial. Other artists whose careers spanned the anti-colonial and postcolonial, such as Enwonwu and Lasekan were mostly associated with the former period. Ntiro overlaps, but his work pursues the tropes established in the colonial period, there is little to provide evidence of any significant shifts after political independence.

- *Eurocentric conventions* - One does not find in Malangatana a recourse to an indigenous painting tradition, and its adaption to inform a new style and idiom, such as what Okeke did in Nigeria. Nor does he look to indigenous crafts, adapting the media and materials of traditional or applied arts to produce entirely new forms of painting, as Belkahia does with his shaped wall pieces that use copper, leather and henna. Instead, like many of his peers, Malangatana accepts the conventions of easel painting, the use of established (western) art materials, associated techniques of applying paint, and the norms that go with displaying and selling artworks. One then has to look to the content of his work to identify ways in which it can be argued that he manifests a decolonial aesthetic.

- *Indigenous signs* - Malangatana introduces iconographic elements that relate to indigenous sources. These include signs such as the figure of the traditional healer and the calabash. These are in themselves commonly available tropes, and their use does not necessarily signify a deep knowledge of indigenous culture. It is unclear to what extent he draws on a deep, rich ethnographic archive, and to what extent his indigenous signs constitute an act of invention and imagination. However, it is largely through his (apparent) allusion to traditional sources that the artist is presented as a visual anthropologist.

- Indigenous folk-tales - Malangatana's reference to localised myths is frequently cited as an integral

part of his work, but evidence of references made to Ronga, Zulu and Malagasy myths is never detailed in the literature, introducing questions regarding the substantive nature of myths in his work, or whether, like the use of indigenous signs, this constitutes part of the framing of the artist as deeply rooted in indigenous culture.

- *Precolonial imaginaries* - Unlike artists such as Tshibumba, Malangatana does not draw on precolonial history as a theme, although many of his generic representations of 'traditional' themes may be read as imaginative reconstructions of precolonial imaginaries. In this sense he displays affinities with Negritudinist artists. Kasfir's comment on the decorative aspect of negritudinist artists as a sign of their alienation from the cultural traditions they purported to represent[983] introduces the question regarding the conflation of excessive formal ornamentation with supposed symbolism, a relevant question for the 'meaning' of works such as *The Sacred Well*. Despite this ambiguity, the cultural capital of appearing to reference the precolonial affirms the decolonial currency of the artist.

- *Contemporary representations of anti-colonial struggle* - Malangatana's imaging of the anti-colonial struggle has few precedents among his African peers, if any. This applies in two respects: i) his anti-colonial works were produced during the anti-colonial struggle. They were not retrospective

[983] Kasfir, 1999, op.cit. P.168.

accounts of colonial oppression or memories or reimaginings of historical landmarks in the struggle against colonial rule. It is perhaps this contemporaneous aspect of his work, along with his imprisonment by the colonial authorities, that positions Malangatana as a strong anti-colonial voice; and ii) unlike the narrative techniques commonly utilised by artists commemorating the anti-colonial struggle, Malangatana resorts to a complex mix of visual idioms and codes to express anti-colonial sentiment. This can be interpreted, in part, as a strategy to avoid censorship, but the artist's use of unambiguously political titles, together with his reluctance to adopt heroic conventions, points rather to his tendency to express non-didactic complexities.

- *Unmasking colonial policies* - Malangatana's critical engagement with colonial rule is evident in his deep, polemical engagement with the Portuguese policy of assimilation. No other African visual artist appears to have produced a substantive body of works that reflect a critical engagement with colonial policies of assimilation or indirect rule. Importantly, the artist appears to go beyond depicting assimilationist themes. His work embodies his own struggles with colonial values, notably the influence of the Church on sexual morality, and western models of feminine beauty. His assimilationist works manifest the struggles and contradictions of an urbanised, mission-educated indigene who soon came to value the power of his idiom in mediating knowledge of subjugation and resistance.

- *Contemporary imaging of civil war* - Like Okeke's images of the Nigerian Civil War, Malangatana's visual responses to the Mozambican Civil War was of the time and not retrospective. Both artists adapted their aesthetics to capture the traumas of wars that threatened the survival of newly emergent nation-states. Both Okeke and Malangatana produced populous images of generic characters, with women and children prominent. Both were associated with particular political parties: Okeke with the Biafran secessionist movement; Malangatana with the Frelimo government. Whereas Okeke's works can be read as unambiguous representations of the suffering of Igbo communities, Malangatana's position was more ambiguous, with the artist opting to produce generic images that could not be tied to specific communities or events. Rather, he visualised an essentially humanist, non-sectarian response to the horrors of the war experienced by ordinary Mozambicans, particularly those in the countryside.

- *Implicit representations of nation-state nationalism* - Like many of his peers, Malangatana articulates layered nationalisms. The primary nationalism, that of the nation-state is generally not represented through the use of national signs. Rather, the artist's prominent public image as a symbol of Mozambican culture ensures that Mozambican content is an assumed element in the reading of his art. None of his pan-African peers appear to demonstrate an equivalent position, with some making more self-conscious efforts to articulate a national identity (e.g. el Salahi's post Slade paintings; Nwoko's Nigerianism).

- *Understated pan-Africanism* - Malangatana's pan-Africanism is an understated objective in his work. It is evident in his generic use of African tropes such as geometric patterns and calabashes, but also in his generic depiction of human figures (from late 1960s onwards), which display physical characteristics commonly associated with (sub-Saharan) African racial typologies. His generic pre-colonial imaginaries and evocation of women as mothers and close to the earth also speak to pan-African tropes. It is thus possible to align the artist's aesthetic with that of Negritudinist artists such as Tall who use formal elements (like bold colours, pattern, and rhythm) to articulate a supra-national Black/African aesthetic. However, Malangatana's non-elaboration of unambiguously pan-African themes ensures that, in the main, his work complements the hegemonic model of (nation-state) nationalism that characterised the Mozambican liberation discourse.

- *Ambivalent positioning of Matalana* - Unlike Okeke, whose ethno-nationalism was aligned with a political movement for independence; Malangatana's strong identification with his home village (Matalana) does not present any threats to the nation state. Rather it serves to associate the idea of national identity with localised, rural communities. By choosing to depict generic, universalised rural imaginaries where women are dominant, without introducing any specific commentary about social marginalisation, Malangatana's paintings complement official narratives of a purportedly people-centred political movement. On the other hand, it can be argued that

he performs the role of a social conscience by creating often unsettling images, and that his representations of ordinary people are empathetic representations of the hardships experienced by the masses. In this respect he can be viewed as a mediator between the postcolonial elite and those on the fringes or margins of society. This is not only reflected in his art but was also instrumental in his decision to build a cultural centre in his home village of Matalana, on the perimeters of the nation's capital. It is significant that some of his late exhibitions referenced Matalana and not Mozambique, demonstrating an increasing trend to identify himself with the local rather than the national. It is equally significant that his family resisted efforts to bury him in Heroes Acre in Maputo, opting for Matalana, arguably a symbolic disavowal of both the hegemonic national narrative and capital. Matalana was not Okeke's Enugu, Marracuene was not Biafra, secession from the colonially defined nation-state was not a decolonial option; but Malangatana can be said to have worked the cultural capital of Matalana as an affirmation of an alternative national imaginary. Malangatana's final resting in Matalana constitutes what Mignolo would term a de-linking, a re-positioning of value outside the circuits of hegemonic power. At the same time, Malangatana's funeral, like his national award ceremony that took place at Matalana, provided an opportunity for a small community to become the centre, the moral capital of Mozambique, albeit for a brief passing moment. In some senses this was true to the original revolutionary intent of Frelimo – as Houser and Shore put it the revolution was to be

based in the country.[984] In this light Malangatana represents a decolonial agency that is in line with the original tenets of the stalled revolution.

- *The public intellectual as polemic sign* - Like many of his decolonial peers Malangatana was a public intellectual. But none were arrested in both the colonial and postcolonial settings. And none received honorary doctorates in both their home country and that of the former colonising power. Malangatana's semi-state vigil in Portugal, followed by a week of mourning and official burial in Mozambique is also unprecedented, attesting to the artist's unique standing as not only a national icon but also a symbol of postcolonial relations. In these complex significations we find evidence of the artist's extraordinary cultural capital, and his ability to signify variable values to divergent communities. In the end Malangatana becomes, himself, a polemic sign.

[984] Houser and Shore op.cit. P.64.

iii) New sets of questions

This study has raised several questions regarding lines of enquiry that need to be pursued.

Perhaps most urgently, from the perspective of normative framings of Malangatana, there is the necessity to establish whether my naming of the "anthropological fallacy" is warranted, i.e. that foundational myths of the artist as anthropologist are indeed that. Alternately, whether there is a basis for deep ethnographic readings of Malangatana. Linked to this question, there is a necessity to conduct research among 'ordinary' Mozambicans, specifically rural dwellers, women in traditional settings, traditional healers, and others who feature as signs in Malangatana's paintings. The objective of this research should be to assess how these social classes respond to their representation, and how they interpret his work. This will establish the extent to which the artist's perspectives represent the perspectives of an elite class.

A further area requiring detailed research concerns the various networks that enabled his international exhibitions, and the impact these had on his career and the broader artistic, social and political contexts. This includes developing a better understanding of his early international exhibitions (1961-1965) and their role within the emerging discourse of modern African art; engaging critically with the Cold War cosmopolitanism[985] that saw him exhibit in an unprecedented range of countries, and the extent to which these networks were

[985] Gardner et al. Op.cit. P.214.

principally political and consequently expedient and ephemeral – alternately, how relationships formed within the Cold War context evolved with globalisation; and not least, surfacing the networks that enabled his prolific solo exhibitions throughout Portugal and examining how these cultural brokers understood his function in building postcolonial relations for the former metropole – during his lifetime and posthumously.

For longer term impact on global art history, through advancing the argument for a discursive field for decolonial aesthetics, it is necessary to broaden the comparative field to include case studies from other continents. Debates around central issues such as nativism and syncretism, localism and internationalism have proliferated in anti-colonial and postcolonial environments, suggesting that a discursive decolonial field for art history is in fact already in place, although it will be up to scholars and theorists to pull it together as a strong current within a truly cosmopolitan internationalism.

.

REFERENCES/ SOURCES CONSULTED

INTERVIEWS

Champolino Ngwenya, Dillon Djindi, Everisto Mabjaia, Benites Lucas José, Matalana, 12 October 2011.
Julietta Massimbe, Maputo, 7 October 2011.
Lindo Hlongo, Maputo, 13 October 2011.
Mankeu, Maputo, 13 October 2011.
Mutxhini Ngwenya, Maputo, 8 September 2012.
Luís Bernardo Honwana, Maputo, 9 September 2012.

ARCHIVES

Alda Costa, Maputo.
Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
Museum of Modern Art, New York
National Archives, Washington D.C.
National Museum of Art, Maputo.
Stuart Hall Library, International Institute for Visual Arts (inIVA), London.
Tate Reading Room, London.
Warren Robbins Library, National Museum of African Art, Washington D.C.

VIRTUAL ARCHIVES & BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATABASES/LISTS

Africa-Wide Information, https://www.nisc.co.za/products/22/databases/africa-wide-information
Art Africa, http://artafrica.letras.ulisboa.pt/pt/
Bibliografia Nacional Portuguesa, http://bibliografia.bnportugal.pt/
Bibliotecas da Universide de Coimbra, http://webopac.sib.uc.pt/
Casa Comum, http://casacomum.org/cc/arquivos

DocBWeb, http://docbweb.cm-lisboa.pt/
Festac, http://www.festac77.net/
Haenggi Foundation, www.pelmama.org
Modern African Art: A basic reading list (compiled by Janet Stanley)
http://www.sil.si.edu/SILPublications/ModernAfricanArt/newmaa.cfm
Mozambique History Net, http://www.mozambiquehistory.net/
Universiteits Bibliotheek Gent,
https://lib.ugent.be/en/catalog/rug01:000357548
WorldCat, http://www.worldcat.org

CATALOGUES/ CATALOGUE ESSAYS

ADEIAO. *Art Contemporain d'Afrique et d'Oceanie*. Paris: ADEIAO, 1995.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE. *African Art Today: Four major artists. An exhibition of paintings and sculpture by Skunder Boghossian, Valente Malangatana, Twins Seven Seven, and Amir I.M. Nour.* New York: African-American Institute, 1974.

ANDRÉ, Filomena (ed). *Exposição Fotografica: Making of elemento escultorico Paz e Amizade de Malangatana, Bareiro-Portugal 2009*. Maputo: Escola Portuguesa e Consulado Geral de Portugal, 2011.

ANON. 2 Painters from Africa: Salahi & Malangatana. London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1963.

ANON. *Arte* Moçambicana: *Exposição de arte* Moçambicana *no Pavilhão de* Moçambique *na feira industrial de Luanda*, 1963.

BANCO DE MOÇAMBIQUE. *XXXV Aniversario do Banco de Moçambique*. Maputo: Banco de Moçambique, 2010.

BARRETTO A.; **CRUCITTI**, T. and **HAERTJENS**, M. *Objectivo Linha Aberta*. Maputo: Mark Haertjens, 1994.

BEIER, Ulli. "A Moment of Hope: Cultural developments in Nigeria before the first military coup". In Enwezor op.cit. Pp.45-49.

BEIER, U. (ed). *Neue Kunst in Afrika*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1980.

BERNARDI, Bernardo; **COSSA**, Egidio; **DUARTE**, Ricardo Teixeira; et al. *Mozambico: Arte di un popolo*. Roma: Palazzo Venezia, 1986.

BILANG, Karla. *Malangatana Valente Ngwenya – Grafik – Zeichnungen VT Moçambique*. Liepzig: Ministerium fur Kultur der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1986.

BLAZWICK, Iwona (ed). *Century City: Art and Culture in the Modern Metropolis*. London: Tate Gallery, 2001.

BOTOUX, Thomas and **VINCENT**, Cedric. "Africa Remix Sampler". In Clive Kellner (ed), *Africa Remix: Contemporary art of a continent*. Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2007, p.241.

BOWYER, Allan and **BREITZ**, Candice (eds). *Africus: Johannesburg Biennale '95*. Johannesburg: Transitional Metropolitan Council, 1995.

CABRAL, Augusto. *Descoberta: Concurso nacional de artes plásticas*. Maputo: Casa da Cultura do Alto Mae, 1995.

CALDEIRA, Alfredo; and **ANDRÉ**, Filomena (eds). *Desenhos de Prisão: Malangatana*. Lisboa: Fundação Mário Soares, 2006.

CAMDEN ART CENTRE. *Contemporary African art: catalogue of an exhibition of contemporary African art held at the Camden Arts Centre, London*. London, New York: Studio International, 1969.

CARVALHO, Carlos.; **VEDOR**, Otilia; **SOARES**, Paulo; **LEMOS**, Eugênio; et al. *Malangatana Valente Ngwenya*. Lisboa: Secretaria de Estado da Cultura, 1989.

COUTO, Mia. *Segunda Bienal de la Habana '86: Valente Malangatana*. 1986.

COMISSARIO, P. and **DE MELO**, J.M. *Arte* Moç*ambicana.* Lisboa, 1999.

COSTA, Alda and **DIAS**, Jorge. *A Maquina que Queria Voar: Uma selecção da colleção de arte da TDM*. Maputo: TDM, 2007.

COSTA, A.; **RIBEIRO**, António Pinto; **ALY**, Bonifacio Aires; et al. *Artistas de Moçambique: Percursos recentes.* Lisboa: Embaixada de Moçambique, 2007.

COURT, Elsbeth. "Art Colleges, Universities and Schools". In Deliss op.cit. Pp.291-296.

COURT, E. "Movements, Centres, Workshops and Collectives". In Deliss op.cit. Pp.297-301.

COUTO, Mia. *Sonata a Tres Mãos.* Maputo: Centro Cultural Franco Moçambicano, 2006.

COUTO, Mia; and **HONWANA**, Luís Bernardo. *Malangatana [&] Forjaz: Celebrando as artes "pedras e arquitectura"*. Maputo, 2008.

DANIELSSON, Kerstin (ed). *Mozambique! Exhibition workshop programmes*. Stockholm: Kulturhuset, 1987.

DELISS, Clementine (ed). *Seven Stories about Modern Art in Africa*. Paris & New York: Flammarion, 1995.

DE MIRA, Feliciano; **DA GRACA**, Machado; **CABRAL**, Augusto; et al. *Malangatana: de Matalana a Matalana.* Lisboa: Instituto Camões, 1999.

ENWEZOR, Okwui (ed). *The Short Century: Independence and liberation movements in Africa, 1945-94*. Munich: Prestel, 2001

ENWEZOR, O. and OGUIBE, Olu. "Lagos (1965-70". In *Century City: Art and Culture in the Modern Metropolis*. London: Tate Museum, 2001.

FERNANDES, R. *Catálogo: Bienal TDM'95*. Maputo: TDM, 1995;

FERNANDES, R. *Exposição TDM*. Maputo: Telecommunicacoes de Moçambique, 1991.

FERNANDES, R. and **MKAIMA**, M.C. *Exposição Anual MUSART TDM'97*. Maputo: Museu Nacional de Arte, 1997.

FERNANDES, R. and **O GRUPO COORDENADOR**, *Catálogo: Bienal TDM'93.* Maputo: TDM, 1993.

FELICIANO, José Fialho. *Malangatana: Serigrafia e Gravura no Centro Portugues de Serigrafia.* Consulado Geral de Portugal em Maputo & Escola Portuguesa de Moçambique – CELP, 2011.

GADAMER, Hans George; et al. *Il Sud del Mondo: L'altra arte contemporanea*. Milan: Mazzotta, 1991.

GAIA SAS. *Art Contemporain Afriques: Lundi 8 Decembre 2008*. Paris: Gaia SAS, 2008.

GONÇALVES, Rodrigo and **ROBLES**, Pablo Oyarzin. *Malangatana.* Santiago, Chile, 1994.

GONÇALVES, Rui Mário. *Malangatana.* Lisboa: Galeria Buchholz, 1973.

GUEBUZA, Armando E. "Malangatana: Um filho prodigoso que Matalana gerou", in Caldeira and André op.cit. Pp.5-8.

HASSAN, S.M. "Khartoum Connections: The Sudanese story", in Deliss op.cit. Pp.109-125.

HOLLBURG, Sabine; and **SIEVERNICH**, Gereon (eds). *Moderne Kunst aus Afrika: Horizonte '79, 1. Festival der Weltkulturen*. Berlin: Die Festspiele, 1979.

HONWANA, Luís Bernardo, "Malangatana e os seus Painéis". In Couto and Honwana op.cit. Pp.5-10.

ILEA Centre for Learning Resources (1981). *Modern Art from Mozambique.* London: Inner London Education Authority Centre for Learning Resources, 1981.

INSTITUTO CAMÕES. *Exposição Colectiva de Artes Plásticas.* Maputo: Instituto Camões – Centro Cultural Português, 2003.

INSTITUTO CAMÕES. *Plasticidades em* Moç*ambique* (Maputo: Instituto Camões – Centro Cultural Português), 2000.

JANTJES, Gavin (ed). *Strengths & Convictions: The life and times of the South African Nobel Peace Prize laureates*. Oslo: Press Publishing, 2009.

KENNEDY WOLFORD, Jean. *Contemporary African Art.* Washington, D.C.: Museum of African Art, 1974.

LEMOS, Eugênio; **CABRAL**, Augusto; **NAVARRO**, Júlio, et al. *Malangatana*. Maputo: Museu Nacional de Arte, 1986.

MACEDO, Lurdes; and **NGOENHA**, Severino. *A Mulher em Malangatana*. Maputo: Fundação Malangatana Valente Ngwenya, 2017.

MALANGATANA. "Pancho Guedes by Malangatana". In Pomar et al. Op.cit. Pp.56-61.

MAMDANI, Mahood., "Beyond Settler and Native as Political Identities: Overcoming the political legacy of colonialism". In Enwezor op.cit. Pp.21-27.

MASSIMBE, Julietta; and BRAGA, A. *Mostra Colectiva de Artes Plásticas* Moç*ambicanas e da Colecção do Musart de pintura Portuguesa do Periodo Anterior a Independencia.* Maputo: Instituto Camões – Centro Cultural Português, 2004.

MARTINS, I.B.; and **CASAL**, M.L. *PortAfricas: Exposição colectiva de Pintores Africanos – Angola/ Cabo Verde/ Guine Bissau/* Moç*ambique/ S. Tome e Principe* (Portugal), 2002.

MCEWEN, Frank. *Exhibitions on the Occasion of the First International Congress of African Culture*. Salisbury: National Gallery, 1962.

MINISTÉRIO dos Negócios Estrangeiros. *Malangatana: de Matalana a Matalana*. Lisboa: Instituto Camões, 1999.

MURRAY, Barbara; and **PICTON**, John (eds). *Transitions: Botswana, Namibia, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, 1960-2004*. London: Africa Centre, 2005.

MUSART. *Exposição Anual MUSART TDM'97: catálogo.* Maputo, Mozambique: Museu Nacional de Arte, 1997.

MUSART. *Canto a Eros: Malangatana 1996, 60 anos*. Maputo: O Grupo de Amigos do Museu Nacional de Arte, 1996.

MUSART. *Malangatana: 21 desenhos, 1986-1993*. Maputo: O Grupo de Amigos do Museu Nacional de Arte, 1993.

MUSART. *Malangatana, Exposição retrospectiva.* Museo Nacional de Arte, June 1986. [alternate 'popular' version of entry above]

NATIONAL ART GALLERY OF NAMIBIA & THE MINISTRY OF BASIC EDUCATION, SPORT & CULTURE. *SADC Arts and Craft Festival 2000*. Windhoek: NAGN & MBESC, 2000.

NAVARRO, Júlio. *25 Obras nos 25 Anos do 25 de Junho: Malangatana*. Maputo: BCI, 2000.

NGWENYA, Malangatana Valente. "Mozambican Art: An overview". In Wallace *op.cit*. Pp.47-49

NGWENYA, M. "Four Artists from Mozambique: Isabel Martins, Victor Sousa, Nurdino Ubisse, Fernando Rosa". In Christina Björk, Kerstin Danielsson, and Bengt Serenander (eds). *Art/images in Southern Africa*. Stockholm: Kulturhuset, 1989, pp.31-35.

NIEDERHUBER-JAKEL, Margit. "Buscando Marcas: Malangatana e a Áustria". In F. Pereira et al. Op.cit. P.

NJAMI, Simon, et al. *Tiempo de Africa.* Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Centro Atlántico de Arte Moderno, 2000.

NÚCLEO DE ARTE. *5° Congresso do Partido Frelimo: Exposição de artes plásticas.* Maputo: Núcleo de Arte, 1989.

NUNES, Carlos Cabral. *Lusophonies/Lusofonias: Obras da colecção da Perve Galeria*. Oeiras: Câmara Municipal de Oeiras, 2012.

NUNES, C. C. *Lusophonies/ Lusofonias: Obras de arte da colecção da Perve Galeria//Lisboa*. Lisboa: Perve Galeria, 2009.

NYACHAE, Wanjiku. "Uganda: Visual prose". In Deliss op.cit. pp.167-177.

O GRUPO DE AMIGOS DO MUSEU NACIONAL DE ARTE. *Canta a Eros: Malangatana 60 anos*. Maputo: O Grupo de Amigos do Musart, 1996.

OKEKE, Uche. "Natural Synthesis". In Deliss op.cit. Pp.208-209.

OKEKE [-AGULU], Chika. "Modern African Art". In Enwezor op.cit. Pp. 29-36.

OKEKE [-AGULU], Chika. "The Quest: From Zaria to Nsukka". In Deliss op.cit. Pp.40-75.

OLOIDI, Ola. "Art and Nationalism in Colonial Nigeria". In Deliss op.cit. P.194.

ONOBRAKPEYA, Bruce. "The Zaria Art Society". In Deliss op.cit. Pp.195-197.

ORGANIZAÇÃO NACIONAL *DE* JORNALISTAS. *Exposição de Artes Plásticas*: *10°* Aniversário *da ONJ.* Maputo: ONJ, 1988.

OSMAN, A.M. *Caminhos Convergentes: BCI Fomentos – 10 anos*. Maputo: BCI Fomento, 2007.

PEREIRA, Frederico; **VICENTE**, M.; **NIEDERHUBER-JAKEL**, Margit, et al. *Malangatana Valente Ngwenya: Pintura, desenho, gravura, cerâmica.* Lisboa: Instituto Superior de Psicologia Aplicada, 2004.

PEREIRA, G.G.; and FELICIANO, J.F. *Malangatana: Serigrafia e gravura no Centro Portugues de Serigrafia.* Maputo: EPM-CELP, 2011.

PINTO RIBEIRO, António (ed). *Replica e Rebeldia: Artistas de Angola, Cabo Verde e* Moç*ambique*. Lisboa: Instituto Camões, 2006.

RAFAEL, R.; **HARUN**, Harun; **CABRAL**, Augusto; et al. Artistas de Moçambique. Maputo, 2000.

REBELO DE SOUSA, Marcelo; **MEIGOS**, Filimone; **SANTOS**, Margarida; et al. *Malangatana: 50 anos de pintura 450 anos* da Universidade. Evora: Universidade de Evora, 2010.

RHANZARTE. *9 Artistas de* Moç*ambique: Expo '92.*

Universal Exposition, Seville. Maputo: Museu Nacional de Arte de Moçambique, 1992.

ROCHA, Ilidio. "Breve Advertencia: A proposito dos trabalhos de Malangatana". Lourenco Marques: Núcleo de Arte, 1970.

ROLLETTA, Paola (ed). *Exposição de Artes Plásticas Moçambicanas*. Maputo: Sindicato Nacional dos Jornalistas, 2002.

RUBIN, William (ed). *Primitivism" in 20th Century Art*: *Affinity of the tribal and the modern.* New York: Museum of *Modern Art*, 1984.

SANTOS SILVA, Albina. *Ver e Sentir: Malangatana.* Maputo: Escola Portuguesa de Moçambique – Centro de Ensino e Língua Portuguesa), 2005.

SENGHOR, Leopold Sedar. "Picasso en Nigritie. Inauguration address, Picasso exhibition, Dakar, April 1972". In Deliss op.cit. Pp.228-30.

SENGHOR, L.S. "The Role and Significance of the Premier Festival Mondial des Arts Negres. Address, Dakar, 1966". In Deliss op.cit. Pp.224-226.

SOPA, António. *Malangatana: 70 anos, vida e obra.* Maputo: Os Amigos de Malangatana, 2006.

SOPA, A.; and **HARUN**, Harun. *Expo Musart 2000: Commemoracoes das bodas de prata da Independencia Nacional.* Maputo: Museu Nacional de Arte, 2000.

STEVENSON, Michael; and **BOOSLAND**, Joost. *"Take Your Road and Travel Along': The advent of the modern black painter in Africa*. Cape Town: Michael Stevenson, Michael Graham-Stewart & Johans Borman, 2008.

SUBIRÓS, Pep; **NJAMI**, Simon; **MERCER**, Kobena, et al. *Africas: The artist and the city: a journey and an exhibition*. Barcelona: Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona, 2001.

THORUP, Tine; **JENGO**, Elias; **TUOMINEN**, Maila-Katrina; et al. *Africa/Now: Contemporary Art from Africa 2008-2009*. Copenhagen: thorupART, 2008.

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN. *Imagination '61: A festival of arts*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1961.

Valente Malangatana. Havana: Bienal de la Habana, 1986.

VOGEL, Susan; with **EBONG**, Ima (1991). *Africa Explores: 20th Century African art*. New York: Center for African Art, 1991.

WADE, Ousseynou (ed). *Dak'Art 2006: 7th biennial of contemporary African Art*. Dakar: Dak'Art, 2006.

WALLACE, Emma (ed). *Art from the Frontline: Contemporary art from Southern Africa frontline states*. London: Karia Press, 1990.

BOOKS/ BOOK CHAPTERS

GERBRANDS, Adrian A.; **DREWAL**, Henry John; **ABIODUN**, Rowland; et al., *African Art Studies: The state of the discipline*. Washington D.C.: National Museum of African Art, 1990.

ALBERT, Mitch; **ANTONIOLLI**, Alessio; **FRAY**, Lorna; and **LODER**, Robert (eds). *Triangle: Variety of experience around artists' workshops and residencies*. London: Triangle Arts Trust, 2007.

ANDERSON, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London & New York: Verso, 1991.

APPIAH, Kwame Anthony. "The Postcolonial and the Postmodern", in Oguibe and Enwezor, op.cit. pp.48-73.

ASHCROFT, Bill; **GRIFFITHS**, Gareth; and **TIFFIN**, Helen (eds). *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. London & New York: Routledge, 1995.

BARTON, Frank. *The Press of Africa: Persecution and Perserverance*. London & Basingstoke: The MacMillan Press Ltd. 1979.

BARTLETT, Richard (ed). *Short Stories from Mozambique*. Johannesburg: Cosaw Publishing, 1995.

BEIER, Ulli. *Contemporary Art in Africa*. London: Pall Mall Press; & New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968.

BEINART, Julian. "Visual education for emerging cultures: The African opportunity". In Gyorgy Kepes (ed), *The Education of Vision*. New York: George Braziller, 1965, pp.184-200.

BENSON, Peter. *Black Orpheus, Transition and Modern Cultural Awakening in Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

BOTWE-ASAMOAH, Kwame. *Kwame Nkrumah's Politico-Cultural Thought and Policies: An African-centered paradigm for the second phase of the African revolution*. New York & London: Routledge, 2005.

BOWEN, Merle L. *The State Against the Peasantry: Rural struggles in colonial and postcolonial Mozambique*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000.

BROWN, Evelyn S. *Africa's contemporary art and artists: a review of creative activities in painting, sculpture, ceramics and crafts of over 300 artists working in the modern industrialised societies of some of the countries of subSaharan Africa*. New York: Division of Social Research and Experimentation, Harmon Foundation, 1966.

CABAÇO, José Luís. *Moçambique: Identitades, colonialism e libertação*. São Paulo: Editora Unesp/ANPOCS, 2009.

CABRAL, Amílcar. *Unity and struggle selected speeches and writings*. Pretoria: Unisa Press & Hollywood: Tsehai, 2008[first published by Monthly Review Press, 1979]

CHABAL, Patrick; with **AUGEL**, M.P.; **BROOKSHAW**, D.; **LEITE**, A.M.; and **SHAW**, C. *The Post-colonial Literature of Lusophone Africa*. London: Hurst and Company, 1996.

CHAKRABARTY, D. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial thought and historical difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

CHIKEKA, Charles Ohiri. Decolonization process in Africa during the post-war era, 1960-1990. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1998.

COMAROFF, John. L.; and **COMAROFF**, Jean. *Of Revelation and Revolution: Volume Two - The dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

COOPER, Frederick. "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking colonial African history", in Le Sueur op.cit. Pp. 23-44.

COOPER, F. *Africa Since 1940: The past of the present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

COSTA, Alda. *Arte em* Moç*ambique: Entre a construção da nação e o mundo sem fronteiras 1932-2004*. Lisboa: Verbo, 2013.

COSTA, A. *Percursos e olhares: uma introdução à arte em Moçambique*. Maputo: EPM-CELP, 2008.

CRAGGS, Ruth; and **WINTLE**, Claire (eds). *Cultures of Decolonisation: Transnational productions and practices, 1945-70*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

DADI, Iftikhar. "Ibrahim El-Salahi and Calligraphic Modernism in a Comparative Perspective". In Hassan, 2012, op.cit. Pp.41-53.

DATHORNE, O.R. *African Literature in the Twentieth Century*. London: Heinemann, 1975.

DE BRAGANÇA, Aquino; with DAVIDSON, Basil. "Independence without Decolonization, Mozambique, 1974-1975". In Gifford and Louis op.cit. Pp.427-443.

DE CAMÕES, Luís. *Os Lusiadas*. Porto: Livraria Tavares Martins, 1965.

DUARA, Prasenjit (ed). *Decolonization: Perspectives from now and then*. London & New York: Routledge, 2004.

DESAI, Gaurav; and **NAIR**, Supriya (eds). *Postcolonialisms: An anthology of cultural theory and criticism*. Oxford: Berg, 2005.

DINERMAN, Alice. *Revolution, Counter-Revolution and Revisionism in Postcolonial Africa: The case of* Mozambique*, 1975-1994*. London: Routledge, 2006.

DIOP, Cheikh Anta. *The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or reality.* New York & Westport: Lawrence Hill & Co., 1974.

DO AMARAL, Ilidio. "Recordando Malangatana Valente Ngwenya (1936-2011). In Lourido, op.cit. P.39.

DREWAL, Henry John. "African Art Studies Today". In Gerbrands et al. Op.cit. Pp.29-62.

DUERDEN, Dennis. *African Art: An introduction*. London, New York, Sydney & Toronto: Hamlyn, 1974.

DUERDEN, D. *African Art*. Middlesex: Paul Hamlyn, 1968.

DUFFY, James. *Portuguese Africa*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959.

DUVIGNAUD, Jean. *The Sociology of Art*. London: Paladin, 1972.

EBONG, Ima. "Negritude: Between mask and flag – Senegalese cultural ideology and the Ecole de Dakar". In Oguibe and Enwezor, op.cit. Pp.128-43.

FALOLA, Toyin (ed). *Africa, Vol. 4: The End of Colonial Rule, Nationalism, and Decolonization.* Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 2002.

FALOLA, Toyin; and **HASSAN**, Salah (eds). *Power and Nationalism in Modern Africa: Essays in honor of Don Ohadike*. Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2008.

FANON, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York: Grove

Press, 1967.

FANON, F. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press, 1963.

FARIS, *Robert* N. Liberating Mission in Mozambique: Faith and Revolution in the Life of Eduardo Mondlane. Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2014.

FAUVET, Paul; and **MOSSE**, Marcelo. *Carlos Cardoso: Telling the truth in Mozambique*. Cape Town: Double Storey, 2003.

FOSU, Kojo. *20th Century Art of Africa*. Accra: Artists Alliance, 1986.

GERBRANDS, Adrian A. "The History of African Art Studies". In Gerbrands et al. Op.cit. Pp.11-28.

GIFFORD, P.; and **LOUIS**, W.M.R. *Decolonization and African Independence: The Transfers of Power, 1960-1980*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1988.

GOLDWATER, Robert. *Primitivism in Modern Painting*. New York, London, Harper & Brothers, 1938.

GREEN, Edward C. *Indigenous Healers and the African State: Policy Issues Concerning African Indigenous Healers in Mozambique and Southern Africa.* New York: PACT Publications, 1999.

GUEDES, Amâncio d' Alpoim. "Remembering the Painter Malangatana Valente Ngwenia when he was still young". In Navarro, 1998, op.cit. Pp.9-14.

HARNEY, Elizabeth. I*n Senghor's* Shadow*: Art, Politics, and the Avant-Garde in Senegal, 1960-1995*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004.

HASSAN, Sallah M. (ed). *Ibrahim El-Salahi: A Visionary Modernist*. New York: Museum for African Art, 2012.

HASSAN, S.M. "The Modernist Experience in African Art". In Oguibe and Enwezor, op.cit. Pp.214-235

HUGHES, Langston (ed). *Poems from Black Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963.

HODGKIN, Thomas. *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*. New York: New York University Press, 1971.

HOLLAND, Roy Fraser. *European Decolonization, 1918-1981: An introductory survey*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1985.

HONOUR, Hugh; and **FLEMING**, John. *A World History of Art* London: Macmillan, 1982.

HOUSER, George M.; and **SHORE**, Herb. *Mozambique: Dream the size of freedom*. New York: Africa Fund, 1975.

IRBOUH, Hamid. *Art in the Service of Colonialism: French art education in Morocco 1912-1956*. London & New York: I.B. Taurus, 2012.

IRBOUH, Hamid.H. "Farid Belkahia: A Moroccan Artist's Search for Authenticity". In N. Nzegwu (ed), *Issues in Contemporary African Art*. Binghamton, NY: International Society for the Study of Africa at Binghamton University, 1998, pp.46-68.

KASFIR, Sidney Littlefield. *Contemporary African Art*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1999.

KENNEDY, Dane. "Imperial history and post-colonial theory". In Le Sueur, op.cit. Pp.10-22.

KENNEDY, Jean. *New Currents, Ancient Rivers: Contemporary African artists in a generation of change*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian, 1992.

LE SUEUR, James D. (ed). *The Decolonization Reader*. New York & London: Routledge, 2003.

LIPP, Thorolf (ed). *The Hunter Thinks the Monkey is not Wise: A bibliography of writings by Ulli Beier*. Bayreuth: Obotunde Ijimere & Co., 1986.

LOMAX, Alan and **ABDUL**, Raoul (eds). *3000 Years of Black Poetry*. Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, 1971.

LOURIDO, Rui d' Ávila (ed). *Malangatana: O homem e as obras*. Lisboa: União das Cidades Capitéis de Língua Portuguesa, 2011.

MACHEL, Samora. *Mozambique: Sowing the Seeds of Revolution*. London: Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola & Guine, 1974.

MACQUEEN, Norrie, The decolonization of Portuguese Africa: Metropolitan revolution and the dissolution of empire. London: Longman, 1997.

MAMDANI, Mahood. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996.

MANGANYI, Noel Chabani; and **ATTWELL**, David (eds). *Bury Me at the Marketplace: Es'kia Mphahlele and company, letters 1943-2006*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2010.

MANHIQUE, Emilio. "Entrevista com Malangatana Vale Nguenha". In E. Manhique, *Gente da Nossa Terra*. Maputo: Radio Moçambique, 1999, pp.24-44.

MAZRUI, Alamin. "Ali Mazrui and the Triple Heritage: A contextual essay". In A.M. Mazrui and Willy Mutunga (eds), *Debating the African Condition: Race, gender and culture conflict. Ali Mazrui and his critics (Vol. 1).* Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2003, pp.21-26.

MERCER, Kobena (ed). *Cosmopolitan Modernisms*. London: inIVA & Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2005.

MINTER, William. *Portuguese Africa and the West*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972.

MITTER, Partha. *Indian Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

MITTLEMAN, James H. *Underdevelopment and the Transition to Socialism: Mozambique and Tanzania*. New York, London, Toronto, Sydney, San Francisco: Academic Press, 1981.

MOORE, Gerald; and **BEIER**, Ulli (eds). *Modern Poetry in Africa.* London: Penguin Books, 1963, revised 1968.

MONDLANE, Eduardo. *The Struggle for Mozambique*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969.

MOUNT, Marshall W. *African Art: The years since 1920*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973.

NAVARRO, Júlio (ed). *Malangatana Valente Ngwenya.* Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2003.

NGWENYA, Malangatana. *Vinte e Quatro Poemas e Outros Inéditos*. Lisboa: Instituto Superior de Psicologia Aplicada, 2004.

NGWENYA, M. *Vinte e Quatro Poemas*. Lisboa: Instituto Superior de Psicologia Aplicada, 1996.

NKRUMAH, K. *Neo-Colonialism: The last stage of Imperialism*. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1965.

NKRUMAH, Kwame. *Consciencism: philosophy and ideology for decolonisation and development with particular reference to the African revolution*. London: Heinemann, 1964.

NWAKANMA, Obi. *Christopher Okigbo, 1930-67: Thirsting for sunlight*. Suffolk: James Currey and Ibadan: HEBN, 2010.

NYERERE, Julius K. *Education for Self-Reliance*. Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967.

NYERERE, Julius K. *Ujamaa- essays on socialism*. Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968.

NZEGWU, Nkiru (ed). *Contemporary Textures: Multidimensionality in Nigerian art*. Binghamton: Binghamton University International Society, 1999.

O'DOHERTY, Brian. *Inside the White Cube: The Ideology of the Gallery Space* (1976). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999.

OGBECHIE, Sylvester Okwunodu. *Ben Enwonwu: The making of an African modernist*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008.

OGBECHIE, S.O. "Zaria Art Society and the Uli Movement, Nigeria". In N'Gone Fall and Jean Loup Pivin (eds), *An Anthology of African Art: The twentieth century*. New York: Distributed Art Publishers, 2002, pp.247-249.

OGBECHIE, S.O. "Revolution and Evolution in Modern Nigerian Art: Myths and Realities". In Nzegwu, op.cit. Pp.121-137.

OGUIBE, Olu. "Reverse Appropriation as Nationalism in Modern African Art", in Rasheed Araeen, Sean Cubitt, Ziauddin Sardar (eds), *The Third Text Reader on Art, Culture and Theory*. London: Continuum, 2002, pp.36-47.

OGUIBE, Olu; and **ENWEZOR**, Okwui (eds). *Reading the Contemporary: African art from theory to the marketplace*. London: inIVA, 1999.

OKEDIJI, Moyo. "Of Gaboon Vipers and Guinea Corn: Iconographic kinship across the Atlantic". In Nzegwu op.cit. Pp.43-68.

OKEKE-AGULU, Chika. *Postcolonial Modernism: Art and Decolonization in twentieth century Nigeria*. Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2015.

OKEKE-AGULU, C. "Ibrahim El-Salahi and Postcolonial Modernism in the Independence Decade". In Hassan, 2012, op.cit. Pp.28-39.

OTTENBERG, Simon. *New Traditions from Nigeria: Seven artists of the Nsukka Group*. Washington & London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997.

PEFFER, John. *Art and the End of Apartheid*. Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press, 2009.

PEREIRA, Frederico. "Speaking of Malangatana: Hearing echoes of Matalana". In Navarro, 2003, op.cit. Pp.15-22.

PEREIRA, Graça Gonçalves; **MEIGOS**, Filomone; **ADAM**, Maimuna; et al. *Malangatana: Panéis e murais*. Maputo, 2012.

PICTON, John. "In Vogue, or The Flavour of the Month: The new way to wear black". In Oguibe and Enwezor, op.cit. Pp.115-126.

PIETERSE, Jan N. and **PAREKH**, Bhikhu (eds). *The Decolonisation of Imagination: Culture, knowledge and power.* London: Zed Books, 1995.

POMAR, Alexandre; **PEREIRA**, Rui M.; **COSTA**, Alda; et al. As *Áfricas* de Pancho Guedes: *Colecção de Dori e Amâncio Guedes/ The Africas of Pancho Guedes: The Dori and Amâncio Guedes collection*. Lisboa: Câmara Municipal, 2011.

POMAR, A. "'There were a lot of people hovering around'". In Pomar et al. Op.cit. Pp.40-55.

REED, John; and **WAKE**, Clive (eds). *A Book of African Verse*. London & Ibadan: Heineman Educational books, 1964.

REISCH, Alfread A. *Hot Books in the Cold War: The CIA-funded secret western book distribution program behind the Iron Curtain*. Budapest & New York: CEU Press, 2013.

RODNEY, Walter. *How Europe Under-Developed Africa*. London: Bogle l'Ouverture Publications & Dar es Salam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1972.

ROSEMONT, Franklin; and **KELLEY**, Robin D.G. (eds). *Black, Brown and Beige: Surrealist writings from Africa and the diaspora. Austen:* University of Texas Press, 2009.

ROTHERMUND, Dietmar. *The Routledge Companion to Decolonization*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

SEIDMAN, Judy. "Malangatana Fire: Judy Seidman remembers the Mozambican revolutionary painter". In A. Dunn and J. McPhee (eds), *Signal 02: A Journal of International Political Graphics.* Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2012, pp.6-27.

SAUL John S., "Inside from the Ouside? Mozambique's un/civil war". In Taisier M. Ali and Robert O. Matthews (eds), *Civil Wars in Africa: Roots and Resolution*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1999, pp.123-66.

SHIPWAY, Martin. *Decolonization and its impact: a comparative approach to the end of the colonial empires*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2008.

SHUBIN, Vladimir. *The Hot "Cold War": The USSR in Southern Africa*. London: Pluto Press & Scottsville: University of KwaZulu- Natal Press, 2008.

SILVA, Bisi. "Creating Space for a Hundred Flowers to Bloom". In Stephanie Baptist (ed), *Àsìkò: On the future of artistic and curatorial pedagogies in Africa*". Lagos: Centre for Contemporary Art, 2017, pp. xiv-xxiii.

SOYINKA, Wole (ed). *Poems of Black Africa.* London: Heineman Educational Books, 1975.

TANNER, Jeremy (ed). *The Sociology of Art: A reader*. London: Routledge, 2003.

WA THIONG'O, Ngugi. *Moving the Centre: The struggle for cultural freedoms*. Oxford: James Currey, 1993.

WA THIONG'O, N. *Decolonising the Mind: The politics of language in African literature*. London: James Currey and Nairobi: Heimemann Educational, 1985.

WILLIAMS, Raymond. "Culture is Ordinary [1958]". In R. Williams, *Resources of Hope: Culture, democracy, socialism*. London: Verso, 1989, pp.3-14.

WYLIE, Diana. *Art + Revolution: The life and death of Thami Mnyele South African artist.* Johannesburg: Jacana, 2008.

ZELEZA, Paul Tiyambe. "The Historic and Humanistic Agendas of African Nationalism: A reassessment". In Falola and Hassan op. cit. Pp.37-54.

JOURNAL ARTICLES

ADAMS, Sarah. "In My Garment there is Nothing but God: Recent work by Ibrahim el Salahi". Los Angeles: *African Arts*, v.39 n.2, 2006, pp.26-35,86.

ARAEEN, Rasheed. "Our Bauhaus, Others' Mudhouse". London: *Third Text*, v.3 n.6, 1989, pp.3-14.

BEIER, Ulli. "The Right to Claim the World: Conversation with Ibrahim el Salahi". London: *Third Text*, n.23, 1993, pp.23-30.

BEINART, Julian. "Malangatana". Ibadan, Nigeria: *Black Orpheus*, n.10, pp.22-29.

BRAGANÇA, Aquino; and **DEPELCHIN**, Jacques. "From the Idealization of Frelimo to the Understanding of the Recent History of Mozambique". Harare: *African Journal of Political Economy*, n.1, 1986, pp.162-180.

COWCHER, Kate E. "Luanda One Esta? Contemporary African art and the rentier state". *Critical Interventions*, v.8 n.2, 2014, pp. 140-159;

DAVIDSON, Jane Chin. "The Global Art Fair and the Dialectical Image". London: *Third Text* 107 (v.24 n.8), 2010, pp.719-734.

DE OLIVEIRA RIBEIRO, Vanessa Relvas. "A Reinvenção de Sonhos e Memorias em Poemas de José Craveirinha e Telas de Malangatana Valente". Universidade Unigranrio: *Revista Electrônica do Instituto de Humanidades*, v.2 n.9, April-June 2004.

DE SOUTO, Amélia Neves. "Memory and Identity in the History of Frelimo: Some research themes". Cape Town: *Kronos*, v.39 n.1, 2013, pp.280-296.

DIAZ RIVAS, Vanessa. "Contemporary Art in Mozambique: Reshaping artistic national canons". *Critical Interventions*, v.8 n.2, pp.160-75.

EKPO, Denis (ed). "Beyond Negritude- Senghor's vision for Africa". London: *Third Text* [special edition], v.24 n. 2, 2010.

GARDNER, Anthony; **NICHOLLS**, Mark; and **WHITE**, Anthony. "Cold War Cultures and Globalisation: Art and film in

Italy: 1946-1963". London: *Third Text* 115 (v.26 n.2), 2012, p.206

GRABSKI, Joanna. "Painting Fictions/ Painting History: Modernist pioneers at Senegal's Ecole des Arts". Los Angeles: *African Arts*, v.39 n.1, 2006, pp.38-49,93.

KASFIR, Sidney Littlefield. "African Art and authenticity: A text with a shadow". Los Angeles: *African Arts*, v.25 n.2, 1992, pp.40-53,96-97.

LEVIN, Ayala. "Basic Design and the Semiotics of Citizenship: Julian Beinart's educational experiments and research on wall painting in early 1960s Nigeria and South Africa". *Abe Journal*, 9 October 2016. Online: http://journals.openedition.org.abe/3180?lang=en

MALANGATANA, Valente. "Two Poems". Ibadan: *Black Orpheus*, n.10, 1962, pp.28-29.

MANJATE, Lucílio. "Ungulani Ba Ka Khosa, Mia Couto, Aurélio Furdela, Rogério Manjate e Midó Das Dores "Narrativa e Moçambicanidade: uma ponte possível de afectos entre duas gerações". São Paulo: *Via Atlantica*, n. 16, 2011, pp.93-104.

MAXIMIANO, Eulária; and **VINHAA**, Maria Adelaide. "Malangatana e a Pintura Moçambicana". *Jornal do Professor*, n.4, 1981, pp.26-29.

MCEVILLEY, Thomas. "Doctor, Lawyer, Indian Chief: 'Primitivism' in Modern Art at the Museum of Modern Art". New York: *Artforum*, v.23 n.3, 1984, pp.54-61.

MENDONÇA, Fátima. "O Conceito de Nação em José Craveirinha, Rui Knopfli e Sérgio Vieira". São Paulo: *Via Atlantica*, n.5, 2002, pp.52-67.

MIGNOLO, Walter. "Delinking: The rhetoric of modernity, the logic of coloniality and the grammar of de-coloniality". *Cultural Studies*, v.21, n.2-3, 2007, pp.449-514.

OKEKE-AGULU, Chika. "Nationalism and the Rhetoric of Modernism in Nigeria: The art of Uche Okeke and Demas Nwoko, 1960-1968". *African Arts*, v.39 n.1, 2006, pp.26-37,92-93.

OKEKE-AGULU, Chika. "The Challenge of the Modern: An introduction". Los Angeles: *African Arts*, v.39 n.1, 2006, p.14-15,91.

PEARCE, Carole. "The Myth of 'Shona Sculpture'". University of Zimbabwe: *Zambezia* v.20 n.2, 1993, pp.85-107.

PISSARRA, Mário. "Of and Apart from the People: A close reading of representations of Malangatana in catalogues produced for group exhibitions in Mozambique, 1962-2011". Online: *Third Text Africa*, v.5, 2018, pp.50-71. http://asai.co.za/third-text-africa/

PISSARRA, M. "Re/writing Sam J Ntiro: Challenges of framing in the excavation of a 'lost' pioneer". *Third Text Africa*, v.4, 2015, pp.25-60. Online: http://asai.co.za/third-text-africa/

RIBEIRO SECCO, Carmen Lucia Tindo. "Vertigens, Labirintos e Alteridades em José Craveirinha e Malangatana Valente". Rio de Janeiro: *Terceira Margem*, v.8, 2003, pp.7-26.

RIBEIRO SECCO, Carmen Lucia Tindo. "Craveirinha e Malangatana: Cumplicidade e correspondência entre as artes". Belo Horizonte: *Scripta*, v.6 n.12, 2003, pp.350-367.

SCHWARTZOTT, Amy. "Conceptual, Temporal, and Tangible: Discursive spaces of contemporary art in Maputo". *Critical Interventions*, v.8 n.2, 2014, pp.221-245.

SCHNEIDER, Elizabeth Ann Schneider. "Malangatana: Artist of the revolution". *African Arts*, v.21 n.3, YEAR, pp.58-63.

SCHNEIDER, Betty. "Malangatana of Mozambique". *African Arts*, v.5 n.2, 1972, pp.40-45.

SIEGERT, Nadine. "Luanda Lab: Nostalgia and utopia in aesthetic practice". *Critical Interventions*, v.8 n.2, pp.

176-200.

VAZQUEZ, Rolando; and **MIGNOLO**, Walter. "Decolonial AestheSis: Colonial wounds/decolonial healings". *Social Text*, July 15, 2013. Online: https://socialtextjournal.org/periscope_article/decolonial-aesthesis-colonial-woundsdecolonial-healings/

VINCENT, Cédric. "Tendencies and Confrontations: Dakar 1966". *Afterall*, n.43, 2017. Online: https://www.afterall.org/journal/issue.43/tendencies-and-confrontations-dakar-1966

THESES/ DISSERTATIONS

COSTA, Alda. *Arte e Museus em Moçambique: Entre a construção da nação e o mundo sem fronteiras (c.1932-2004)*. Universidade de Lisboa: PhD thesis, 2005.

FRAZÃO, Maria Mariana Fernandes. *Questões de Conservação em Arte Contemporânea na Coleçao de Caixa Geral de Depósitos: Estudos de caso.* Universidade de Coimbra: Masters dissertation, 2015

KAKANDE, Angelo. *Contemporary Art in Uganda: A Nexus between Art and Politics*. University of the Witwatersrand: PhD thesis, 2008.

NZEWI, Ugochukwu-Smooth C. *The Dak'Art Biennial in the Making of Contemporary African Art, 1992-Present*. Emory University: PhD thesis, 2013.

PELAYO, M.R.N. de Almeida e Casal. *Artes Plásticas e Vanguarda Portugal, 1968-Abril 1974*. Universidade do Porto: Masters thesis, 1999.

RODRIGUES, Datila d'Alte. *A Obra de Eurico Gonçalves na Perspectiva do Surrealismo Português e Internacional.* Universidade de Lisboa: PhD thesis, 2007.

ROJAS-SOTELO, Miguel L. *Cultural Maps, Networks and Flows: The history and impact of the Havana biennale 1984 to the present*. University of Pittsburgh: PhD thesis, 2009.

TCHIBOZO, M.A. Romuald, *L'Art et L'Arbitraire: Une etude de la reception de l'art africain contemporain en occident, le cas allemande de 1950 a nos jours*. Humboldt Universite de Berlin: PhD thesis, 2003.
VALENTE, A.C.J. *As Artes Plásticas na Madeira*. Universidade da Madeira: Masters thesis, 1999.

NEWSPAPER & MAGAZINE ARTICLES

ANON. "Malangatana recebe distinção/ Malangatana honoured". Maputo: *Border Post*, 26 February 2010, p.10
ANON. "Malangatana Honoris Causa". Maputo: *Noticias*, 6 January 2010, p.1.
ANON. "Malangatana toma posse na Academia de Ciências de Lisboa". Maputo: *Noticias*, 10 November 2009, p.11.
ANON. "Malangatana: 'Quero deixar um contributo' na Academia de Ciências de Lisboa". Maputo: *O Pais*, 2 November 2009, p.32.
ANON. "Moçambique inaugorou em Portugal a maior obra de Malangatana". Maputo: *Verdade*, 18 September 2009, pp. 15-16.
ANON. "Pintor Malangatana na Academia de Ciências". *Noticias*, 16 September 2009, p.27.
ANON. "Malangatana: 'A minha relação com o Barreiro é uma relação de amizade'", *Rosto*, August 2009, pp.5-6.
ANON. "Malangatana Doutor Honoris Causa, *TVZine*, October 2007, p.45.
ANON. "Pelo Governo Frances: Malangatana condecorado". *Noticias*, 21 September 2007, p.1 (?).
ANON. "Aos 70 anos de idade: Ordem Eduardo Mondlane para Malangatana Ngwenya". *Noticias*, 7 June 2006, p.1.
ANON. "Malangatana homenageado no pais e na diaspora". Maputo: *Zambeze Cultural*, 31 March 2005.

ANON. "Lancado projecto de homenagem ao artista plastico Malangatana". Lourenco Marques: *Noticias*, 24 March 2005, p.15.

ANON. "Correntes d'Escrita Abre com Malangatana". Maputo: *Zambeze Cultural*, 17 February 2005.

ANON. "Malangatana Expoe no ISPA", *Africa Hoje*, March 2004, p.144.

ANON. "Malangatana Pinta Mural Gigante". Maputo: *Noticias*, 12 September 1991

ANON. "Malangatana Ngwenya: Yesterday, today and tomorrow", *Indico,* n.3, 1989, pp. 20-35.

ANON. "Colectanea de poesia Moçamibicana editada na RDA", *Tempo*, n.478, 9 December 1979, pp. 62-63.

ANON. "Malangatana Dedicado a Temas de Pintura Inteiramente Africanos". Original source unknown, possibly *Brado Africano*, c. 1973 [sourced from Alda Costa]

ANON. "Malangatana expoe em Lisboa", *O Seculo Ilustrado* n.1785 (Ano xxxv), 8 March 1972, p.79.

ANON. "Duas Consagrações Internacionais para Malangatana Ngwenha". Lourenco Marques: *Brado Africano*, 17 October 1970, p.1.

ANON. "Malangatana Valente Ngwenya: O artista Moçambicano que muitos julgam inspirado na arte de Chagall, embora com caracteristicas predominantemente Africanas". Lourenço Marques: *Facho Sonap* (Sociedade Nacional de Petroleos de Moçambique), N.5, August 1970.

ANON. "Malangatana: Encontra-se na Beira para realizar um painel no edifício do Auditório-Galeria de Arte". Beira: *Voz Africana*, 9 May 1970, p.2.

ANON. "Como Vivem os Artistas em Lço. Marques. Malangatana Valente Ngwenya: A minha pintura é cheia de sombras negras como negros foram os meus dias". Lourenço Marques: *Noticias*, 1968.

ANON. "Galeria 101: O que disseram os críticos Sul Africanos sobre a exposição de artistas de Moçambique". [original source unknown], 4 May 1964 (source: Alda Costa).

ANON. "Three African Artists in Calcutta". Cape Town: *The New African*, January 1964, pp.12-13,24.

ANON. "O Nosso Jornal Organiza: Exposição de pintores de Moçambique." Johannesburg: *O Seculo de Johanesburgo*, 1964.

ANON. "O I Congresso Internacional Bienal de Cultura Africana", 2 Aug 1962. (Source: Alda Costa).

ANON. "Exposição na Nigéria. Malangatana tem um visão apocalíptica, grandioso, monstruoso e magnificente diz a crítica Nigeriana depois de apreciar a sua exposição". unknown source, 2 July 1962.

ANON. "Malangatana Valente: O pintor e a sua história". Beira: *Voz Africana*, 16 June 1962.

ANON. "O pintor Malangatana analisado em 'Black Orpheus' – revista Nigeriana". Lourenco Marques: *Noticias*, 14 May 1962.

ANON. "Malangatana vai expor em Paris e na Nigeria". Unknown source, 19 Nov 1961. (sourced from Alda Costa).

ANON. [A.F.]. "Duas Exposições". Lourenço Marques: *A Voz de Moçambique*, n.25/26, 15 April 1961, pp.6,10.

ANON. "Considero Malangatana um dos Grandes Artistas de África – disse-nos o editor da revista artística 'Black Orpheus', Dr. Ulli Beier". Lourenco Marques: *Noticias*, 6 May 1961.

BERNARDO, Edson. "Malangatana recebe doutoramento honoris causa em Portugal". Maputo: *Savana*, 19 February 2010, p.17.

CARTAXANA, Rui. "Malangatana em Lisboa". Lourenço Marques: *Tempo*, n.36, 1971, pp.17-20.

COUTO, Mia. "Malangatana, the man who painted water". Harare: *Gallery*, n.15, 1998, pp.12-13.

DE CARVALHO, Augusto. "No Panorama dos Artistas Mundias: Malangatana é Moçambique". Maputo: *Domingo*, 25 April 2010, p.17.

DO CARMO, Garizo. "Garizo do Carmo apresenta Malangatana". Lourenço Marques: *O Cooperador*, 1972.

DE SOUSA, Marcelo Rebelo. "Malangatana". Maputo: *Savana*, 26 February 2010, p.7.

DO ROSARIO, Lourenço. "Onde está Malangatana?". *Proler*, n.22, July 2011, pp.42-44.

FARRELL, John. "Malangatana". *Arete*, v.2 n.5, 1990, pp.58-61.

FILIPE, Gil. "Malangatana: Uma 'honorios' que ultrapassa toda a causa de um so homem". *Noticias cultura* [supplement], 19 September 2007, p.2.

FORJAZ, José. "Elogio ao Malangatana Valente Ngwenha": Por ocasião do doutoramento Honoris Causa atribuído pela Universidade Politécnica". In *Proler* op.cit. Pp.15-19.

GONÇALVES, Rui Mário. "Um olhar sobre Malangatana". Buenos Aires: *Cadernos do Terceiro Mundo*, Ano VI, n.58, November 1983, pp.77-78.

HOMEN, Susana. "Malangatana: O artista das confusoes". *Africa Hoje*, September 1998.

HONWANA, Luís Bernardo. "Papel Lugar e Função do Escritor". Maputo: *Tempo*, 22 November 1981, pp.54-60.

JAMISSE, Frederico. "Malangatana pertence ao mundo e a sua arte é Património da Humanidae- Armando Guebeza, Presidente da República, no acto de atribuição da Ordem Eduardo Mondlane, primeiro grau, ao pintor". Maputo: *Domingo*, 11 June 2006, pp.14-15.

JAMISSE, Frederico. "Malangatana para além da pintura". Maputo: *Domingo*, 28 March 2004, p.15.

JOSSAI, Robben. "Nas Celebrações do seu 70[th] Aniversario Natalício: Malangatana movimenta artistas e executivo". Maputo: *Domingo*, 11 June 2006.

KRAFT, Scott. "Artists: Africans revive a tradition, develop indigenous paintings". *Los Angeles Times (Orange County Edition)*, 26 September 1988, pp.1,11.

MACHAVA, Ricardo. "Na Arte, Communicação e Linguagem: Malangatana é Doutor Honoris Causa", *O Pais*, 14 September 2007, p.14.

MACUACUA, Laurindos. "Na pintura e Poesia de Malangatana: O extase de imagens e sons". Maputo: *Zambeze cultural*, No date, p.30.

MAMEDE, Paes. "Da Lenda para a Arte: Malangatana pinta na fachada do auditório 'vovó chipangara está zangada'. Beira: *Voz Africana,* 16 May 1970, pp.8-9.

MANJATE, Francisco, "Malangatana é conhecedor profunda da sua cultura". Maputo: *Noticias,* 17 June 2005, p.19.

MANJATE, Francisco. "Malangatana atingiu a dimensão da humanidade- vice ministro da Educação e Cultura, no lancamento do projecto de homenagem ao pintor". Maputo: *Noticias,* 25 March 2005, p.23.

MANUEL, Guerra. "O Artísta Repete-se: Malangatana". Lourenço Marques: *O Brado Africano*, 6 January 1968, p.7.

MARQUES, Guiomar Belo. "Malangatana Valente: o artista é sensível ao que o rodeia". *Cadernos do Terceiro Mundo*. Ano VI, n.58, November 1983, pp.74-76.

MARTIN, Marilyn. "Maputo, Copehangen and Tenerife… Curating for Africa". *Bonani*. Cape Town: South African National Gallery, First Quarter 1996.

MATLHOMBE, J. "Malangatana na poesia". Maputo: *Savana*, 2 April 2004, p.31.

MATUSSE, Hilário. "Malangatana: O homem e o artista". Maputo: *Tempo,* 9 March 1986, pp. 47-54.

NAVARRO, J. "'Foi a Primeira Exposição de África no Chile' – conta-nos Malangatana". Maputo: *Domingo*, 25 December 1994, pp.16-17.

J.N. [Júlio Navarro], "As Várias Fases da Obra de Malangatana (i)". Maputo: *Tempo*, 4 May 1986, pp.52-53.

ANON.[Navarro], "As Várias Fases da Obra de Malangatana (ii)". Maputo: *Tempo*, 11 May 1986, pp.52-54.

J.N. [Navarro]. "As Várias Fases da Obra de Malangatana (iii)". Maputo: *Tempo,* 18 May 1986, pp.48-49.

ANON.[Navarro]. "As Várias Fases da Obra de Malangatana (iv)". Maputo: *Tempo,* 25 May 1986, pp.52-53.

J.N. [Navarro]. "As Várias Fases da Obra de Malangatana (v)". Maputo: *Tempo,* 1 June 1986, pp.46-47.

J.N. [Navarro]. "As Várias Fases da Obra de Malangatana (vi)". Maputo: *Tempo*, 8 June 1986, pp.50-51.

J.N. [Júlio Navarro]. "As Várias Fases da Obra de Malangatana (vii)". Maputo: *Tempo*, 15 June 1986, pp.52-53.

NGWENYA, Malangatana Valente. "Poema de Amor". Lourenço Marques: *A Voz de* Moç*ambique*, Sept/Oct 1962.

ONABOLU, Dapo. "Aina Onabolu". Lagos: *Nigeria Magazine*, n.79, 1963, pp.295-298.

OZYNSKI, Joyce. "A Feast of World Art". Johannesburg: *The New Nation*, 9 February 1995.

PEARCE, Justin. "The Still Life in Wartime". Johannesburg: *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, 3 February 1994.

PISSARRA, Mário. Re-Reading Malangatana." Lagos: *Farafina,* n.11, 2007, pp.13-17.

PISSARRA, M. "The Short Century". London: *The Africa Book Centre Book Review,* n.19, 2001, pp.4-5.

RILEY, Chris. "Festival Guide: Art from the frontline – Southern Africa is more than politics". London: *The Guardian*, 28 April 1990, p.44.

RIVE, Richard. "Mozambique Writing". Cape Town: *The New African*, 13 July 1963, pp.121-122.
SENDA, Raul. "Valeu a Pena Viver: Reconhece mestre Malangatana, galordoardo com o titulo 'Douto Honoris Causa'". Maputo: *Savana*, 14 September 2007, p. 30.
SERRA, João. "Malangatana: 'Também pinto para a minoria que programa, organiza e orienta a maioria'". Lourenço Marques: *Tempo*, n. 160, 7 October 1973, pp.31-39.
P.S. [Paulo Soares]. "Exposição-retrospectiva de homenagen a Malangatana". Maputo: *Tempo*, n.802, 23 February 1986, pp.3-4.
SERGIO, P. "Malangatana expoe 'Primavera em Outubro'". Maputo: *Tempo*, 20 November 1994, p.39.
SOPA, António, "O Mestre de Todas as Artes/ Master of All Arts". Maputo: *Indico*, v.3 n.6, 2011, pp.22-28.
S.P. "Malangatana: 'A minha relação com o Barreiro e uma relação de amizade'". Barreiro: *Rostos*, August 2009, p.6.
VIEIRA, Fátima. "Entrevista Malangatana Valente Ngwenya: 'Usei os monstros para combater o colonialismo'". Lisboa: *Tabu,* n.188, 9 April 2010, pp.36-42.
WENTZEL, Volkmar. "Mozambique: land of the good people", *National Geographic,* August 1964, pp.196-231.
ZUZARTE, Luís "A maior obra de Malangatana". Maputo: *Verdade*, 4 September 2009, pp.14-15.

INTERNET (excluding online journals)[986]

ADAMS, David. "African Notes: Malangatana, 1992-1997". Culture of Peace. Online: http://www.culture-of-peace.info/history/malangatana.html
AFRICA CENTRE [website]. Online: https://www.africacentre.org.uk/

[986] All online references accessible on 12 December 2018.

ALBUQUERQUE, Leonel and **GONÇALVES**, Vitor. "Marcelo: 'Moçambique é a minha segunda pátria.'" SAPO, 2 May 2016. Online: https://ionline.sapo.pt/509385

ANON. "Biafra: President Buhari signs proclamation proscribing IPOB". Nigeria: *Daily Post*, 19 September 2017. Online: http://dailypost.ng/2017/09/19/biafra-president-buhari-signs-proclamation-proscribing-ipob/

ANON. "3.a Bienal de Culturas Lusofonas Homenageia Lauro Moreira e Malangatana", Cidadania da CPLP, 2 May 2011. Online: https://cidadanialusofona.wordpress.com/2011/05/02/odivelas-%e2%80%93-3-%c2%aa-bienal-de-culturas-lusofonas-homenageia-lauro-moreira-e-malangatana/

ANON. "Pintor Malangatana vai receber Honoris Causa da Universidade de Évora". *Moçambique Para Todos* [blog], 12 September 2009. Online: http://macua.blogs.com/moambique_para_todos/2009/09/pintor-malangatana-vai-receber-honoris-causa-da-universidade-de-%C3%A9vora.html

ANON. "Exposição Cosmo Dipanda Forever é inaugurada hoje no espaço Soso Correios". *Agencia Angola Press Angop*, 5 January 2007. Online: http://www.angop.ao/angola/pt_pt/noticias/lazer-e-cultura/2007/0/1/Exposicao-Cosmo-Dipanda-Forever-inaugurada-hoje-espaco-Soso-Correios,26e94912-ae54-4613-af43-bdee2b9693fb.html

ANON. "Personality of the Week: Alberico Cardoso". *Pravda*, 14 March 2005. Online: http://www.pravdareport.com/opinion/columnists/14-03-2005/7877-cardoso-0/

ANON. "How Carlos Cardoso was murdered", *Mail & Guardian*, 1 January 2002. Online: https://mg.co.za/article/2002-01-01-how-carlos-cardoso-was-murdered/

AUSTRIAN EMBASSY PRETORIA. "Mozambique". Online: https://www.bmeia.gv.at/en/austrian-embassy-pretoria/bilateral-relations/mozambique/

BALDWIN, Katherine. "How One Magazine Wants to Change Mozambique". *Time*, 28 December 2010. Online: http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2039433,00.html

BROWN UNIVERSITY NEWS SERVICE. "Bell Gallery to exhibit 40 years of work by Malangatana". Brown University, 13 March 2002. Online: http://www.brown.edu/Administration/News_Bureau/2001-02/01-099.html

DAK'ART [website]. Online: http://biennaledakar.org/

DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION (FRELIMO). *Mozambique Revolution,* No. 61, "Independence Issue". LourenÇo Marques: Department of Information-Frelimo, 1975. Online: https://freedomarchives.org/Documents/Finder/DOC50_scans/50.mozambique.independence1975.pdf.pdf

DIALLO, Aïcha. "In Conversation with Walter Mignolo: 'Decolonial aesthetics/aesthesis has become a connector across the continents'", Online: *C& America Latina*, 2018, http://amlatina.contemporaryand.com/editorial/argentine-semiotician-walter-mignolo/

ENCICLOPEDIA ITAU CULTURAL DE ARTE E CULTURA BRASILEIRAS. "Malangatana". São Paulo: Itaú Cultural, 2018. Online: http://enciclopedia.itaucultural.org.br/pessoa20779/malangatana

FERREIRA DA LUZ, LUÍS. "Malangatana O Cantor". YouTube, 14 September 2009. Online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J8fyZOrxTAw

FERREIRA DA LUZ, LUÍS. "Malangatana O Cantor II". YouTube, 14 September 2009. Online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DYoRy1QHhO0

FESTIVAL DEI DIRITTI. Online: http://www.festivaldeidiritti.it/

HAENGGI FOUNDATION. "The Johannesburg Art Scene from the 60's to the 90's". Online: www.pelmama.org/Johannesburg_artscene_Gallery101_history.htm

HAENGGI FOUNDATION. "Exhibition of paintings, drawings, sculpture and graphics by 25 African artists". Sandton: Gallery 101, 1972. Online: http://www.pelmama.org/PDFs/25_African_Artists_1972_Gallery101_HydePark.pdf

HAENGGI FOUNDATION. "10 Moçambique artists exhibited at Gallery 101, Johannesburg from 4th May, 1964". Online: http://www.art-archives-southafrica.ch/PDFs/Mo%C3%A7ambique_1964_Gallery101_imgs.pdf

HAUS DER KUNST. "Valente Malangatana Ngwenya". Munich: Haus der Kunst. Online: https://postwar.hausderkunst.de/en/artworks-artists/artists/valente-malangatana-ngwenya

INSTITUTE FOR COMPARATIVE MODERNITIES [website]. Online: http://www.icm.arts.cornell.edu/

JOHNSON, Rachel; **RAI**, Shirin M., "Imagining Pasts and Futures: The Indian Parliament murals and South Africa's Keiskamma Tapestry". Online: *Open India*, 14 December 2012 https://www.opendemocracy.net/openindia/rachel-johnson-shirin-m-rai/imagining-pasts-and-futures-indian-parliament-murals-and-south

LEWIS, Paul. "Exhibit of Art Against Apartheid Opens at U.N". *New York Times*, 5 November 1987. Online: https://www.nytimes.com/1987/11/05/arts/exhibit-of-art-against-apartheid-opens-at-un.html

LOCKWARD, Alanna; **VÁZQUEZ**, Rolando; **NERIO**, Teresa María Díaz, et al. "Decolonial Aesthetics (I)". *TDI*, 2011. Online: https://transnationaldecolonialinstitute.wordpress.com/decolonial-aesthetics/

LUSOFALANTE. "Entrevista com Malangatana Ngwenya, Moçambique". Lusofalante [blog], 15 October 2013. Online: http://programalusofalante.blogspot.co.za/2013/10/programa-2-entrevista-com-malangatana.html

MOZINDICO. "Portugal: Malangatana recebe doutoramento honoris causa". Mozindico [blog], 21 February 2010. Online: http://mozindico.blogspot.co.za/2010/02/portugal-malangatana-recebe.html

NATIONAL MUSEUM – NAPRSTEK MUSEUM OF ASIAN, AFRICAN AND AMERICAN CULTURES [website]. Online: https://www.prague.eu/en/object/places/735/national-museum-naprstek-

museum-of-asian-african-and-american-cultures-naprstkovo-muzeum-asijskych-africkych-a-americkych-kultur

NOVOSAD, Lukáš, (ed). *Africké Literatury*, [original publication details not known]. Online: http-//www.svetovka.cz/src/2007/svetovka05/svetovka.pdf

OGBECHIE, Sylvester Okwunodu. "The Curator as Culture Broker: A Critique of the Curatorial Regime of Okwui Enwezor in the Discourse of Contemporary African Art". *ASAI*, 2010. Online: http://asai.co.za/the-curator-as-culture-broker-a-critique-of-the-curatorial-regime-of-okwui-enwezor-in-the-discourse-of-contemporary-african-art/

OGBECHIE, S.O. "'Contemporary African art' in Western spaces". *H-Net*, 2005. Online: http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=vx&list=H-AfrArts&month=0503&week=b&msg=2ONEudvVgtTxzoFQMLfaOg&user=&pw

PEDRO, Francisco. "Trienal de Luanda: África Forever". *Pravda*, 25 January 2017. Online: http://port.pravda.ru/sociedade/cultura/25-01-2007/15190-trienalluanda-0/#

PISSARRA, Mário. "Art and Decolonisation: Small Steps Towards a Global Art History". In *Other Views: Art history in (South) Africa and the global south. Colloquium proceedings*. *SAVAH*, 2012, pp.15-18. Online:

PISSARRA, M. "Decolonising art in Africa: some preliminary thoughts on the relevance of the discourse on decolonization for contemporary African art, with particular reference to post-apartheid South Africa". *ASAI*, 2009. Online: http://asai.co.za/decolonising-art-in-africa-some-preliminary-thoughts-on-the-relevance-of-the-discourse-on-decolonization-for-contemporary-african-art-with-particular-reference-to-post-apartheid-south-africa/

PISSARRA, M. "Decolonisation of art in Africa: a post-apartheid South African perspective". *ASAI*, 2009. Online: http://asai.co.za/decolonisation-of-art-in-africa-a-post-apartheid-south-african-perspective/

PISSARRA, M. "Chalk and cheese, or yam and potatoes? Some thoughts on the need to develop a comparative critical practice". *ASAI*, 2009. Online: http://asai.co.za/chalk-and-cheese-or-yam-and-potatoes-some-thoughts-on-the-need-to-develop-a-comparative-critical-practice/

PISSARRA, M. Re-Reading Malangatana". *ASAI*, 2007. Online: http://www.asai.co.za/word-view/research/item/42-re-reading-malangatana.html

PISSARRA, M. "Beyond current debates on representation: a few thoughts on the need to develop infrastructure for art in Africa". *ASAI*, 2006. Online: http://asai.co.za/beyond-current-debates-on-representation-a-few-thoughts-on-the-need-to-develop-infrastructure-for-art-in-africa/

PISSARRA, M. "Short Change: The curator as editor". *Arthrob* n.76, 2003. Online: http://artthrob.co.za/03dec/reviews/pub_shortcentury.html

POMAR, Alexandre. "Malangatana first years". *Alexandre Pomar* [blog], 16 October 2013. Online: http://alexandrepomar.typepad.com/alexandre_pomar/2013/10/malangatana-first-years.html

POMAR, A. "Circulações Africanas por Lisboa". *Alexandre Pomar* [blog], 16 April 2012. Online: https://alexandrepomar.typepad.com/alexandre_pomar/2012/04/multiculturais.html

POMAR, A. "Ulli Beier e Moçambique". *Alexandre Pomar* [blog], 1 May 2011. Online: https://alexandrepomar.typepad.com/alexandre_pomar/moambique/atom.xml

POMAR, A. "Beier e Moçambique, 1962". *Alexandre Pomar* [blog], 27 April 2011. Online: http://alexandrepomar.typepad.com/alexandre_pomar/2011/04/beier-e-mo%C3%A7ambique-1962.html#more

POMAR, A. "Malangatana, os titulos de 1961". *Alexandre Pomar* [blog], 3 March 2011. Online: http://alexandrepomar.typepad.com/alexandre_pomar/2011/03/malangatana-1961.html

POMAR, A. "Novas peregrinações: A colecção CGD/Culturgest de artistas africanus". *Alexandre Pomar* [blog], 26

October 2008. Online:
https://alexandrepomar.typepad.com/alexandre_pomar/2008/10/mais-a-sul.html#more

POWERS, Holiday. "Modernization and Traditionalization: Art and Decolonization in Morocco", in *Other Views: Art History in (South) Africa and the Global South. Colloquium proceedings* (CIHA/SAVAH), 2011, pp. 244-248. Online:
http://www.savah.org.za/files/OtherViews%20SAVAHCIHAColloquium2011Web

REIS, João C. "Malangatana em Macau: Reflexos de uma exposição". *Revista da Cultura*, 1996, pp. 239-250. Online:
https://blogs.sapo.pt/cloud/file/21d38da7521f27cbd70ea0ecf7a4093a/balcaodacantina/2014/Malangatana%20Artigo%20Revista%20de%20Macau%20%281%29.pdf

SACKS, Ruth. "Introspection and Education: An update on Luanda". Artthrob, 6 July 2006. Online:
https://artthrob.co.za/06july/news/luanda.html

SAUL, John. S. "The Strange Death of Liberated Southern Africa". Paper presented to a seminar jointly sponsored by the UKZN's Centre for Civil Society and the Department of Political Science at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, April 3, 2007. Online:
http://ccs.ukzn.ac.za/files/saul%20the%20Strange%20Death%20of%20Liberated%20Southern%20Africa.pdf

SOARES DE OLIVEIRA, Luisa. "Redescobrir o Grande Pintor Moçambicano Malangatana". Portugal: *Publico*, 8 October 2012. Online:
https://www.srslegal.pt/xms/files/NOTICIAS_IMPRENSA/08-10-2012__Redescobrir_o_grande_pintor_mocambicano_Malangatana__Publico_PRS.pdf

SUOMI-MOSAMBIK-SEURA ASSOCIAÇÃO FINLÂNDIA-MOÇAMBIQUE. "Mozambique Culture Weeks 23/9–3/11/2011". Online:
www.mosambikseura.fi/?q=node/43

TAGORE CENTRE [website]. Online:
http://www.tagorecentreiccr.org/index.html

TATE [MODERN], "Malangatana Ngwenya Untitled 1967". London: *Tate*. Online: https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/ngwenya-untitled-t13985

TRAORE, Aoua. "Mali: Exposition d'Art au Musée National du Mali Bamako, capitale africaine d'Art contemporain". Online : *Maliactu.net*, 28 April 2015. https://maliactu.net/mali-exposition-dart-au-musee-national-du-mali-bamako-capitale-africaine-dart-contemporain/

UNESCO. "UNESCO Director-General expresses sorrow over death of Mozambican artist Malangatana". Unesco, 6 January 2011. Online: http://www.unesco.org/new/en/member-states/single-view/news/unesco_director_general_expresses_sorrow_over_death_of_mozam/

WANTED IN AFRICA. "Exhibition in Aid of Armoury Explosion Victims". Online: https://www.wantedinafrica.com/whatson/exhibition-in-aid-of-armoury-explosion-victims.html

MISCELLANEOUS

ADAM, Miriam (c.2003) "Malangatana Valente Ngwenya's murals". Unpublished school assignment, Waterford Kamhlaba UWCSA.

ANON. "Excerpts from Reviews and Exhibitions by the Artist", Malangatana box files, document 80, Musart.

ARESTA, António (ed). *Malangatana: Nota biografica*. Maputo: Escola Portuguesa de Moçambique- Centro de Ensino e Língua Portuguesa), 2005 [booklet]

BCI. Untitled brochure, c.2004.

BCI, "Obra Malangatana na Sede do BCI". Maputo: *Jornal Noticias*, 2003. [advertisement]

BEIER, U. "Valente Malangatana". Mbari Ibadan, 1962. [exhibition invitation]

COSTA, Alda. Malangatana: Mural 'O Homem e a Natureza', Museu de História Natural. Maputo: UEM and Camões – Centro Cultural Português em Maputo, 2018 [brochure]

COUNSEL, Graeme. "Authenticite", 44-page booklet in *Authenticite: The Syllophone Years. Guinea's Orchestres Nationaux and Federaux 1965-1980*, double CD issued by Sterns Music, 2007.

EMBAIXADA DE MOCAMBIQUE EM PORTUGAL. *Semana de Mocambique em Portugal: Programa*. 2007 [brochure]

EXPO '98 MOÇAMBIQUE, *Malangatana* [series of six postcards].

FUNDAÇÃO MALANGATANA VALENTE NGWENYA. Malangatana: Mapa das artes Junho 2018 [leaflet]

FUNDAÇÃO MALANGATANA VALENTE NGWENYA. *Celebrando Malangatana 80 Anos, Junho 2017 [Event notice/ programme]*

FUNDAÇÃO MALANGATANA VALENTE NGWENYA. 'Espirito em Fumo': Homenagem ao mestre Malangatana. Maputo: Fundação Malangatana Valente Ngwenya, 2012 [brochure].

GUINEA [The Ministry of Education and Culture under the auspices of the Guinean National Commission for Unesco], *Cultural policy in the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea.* Paris: Unesco, 1979.

INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. "Note d'Information sur l'Exposition", information notification. (un-numbered) document in Malangatana box-files, Musart.

MUSEU NOGUEIRA DA SILVA. *No Trilho de Malangatana: Do legado a memoria* [event notification].

SECRETARIA DE ESTADO DA CULTURA IMPRENSA, "Exposição Retrospectiva: Malangatana, Sociedade Nacional de Belas-Artes, 17 Outobro – 12 Novembro 1989" [presspack]